This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

+ *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.

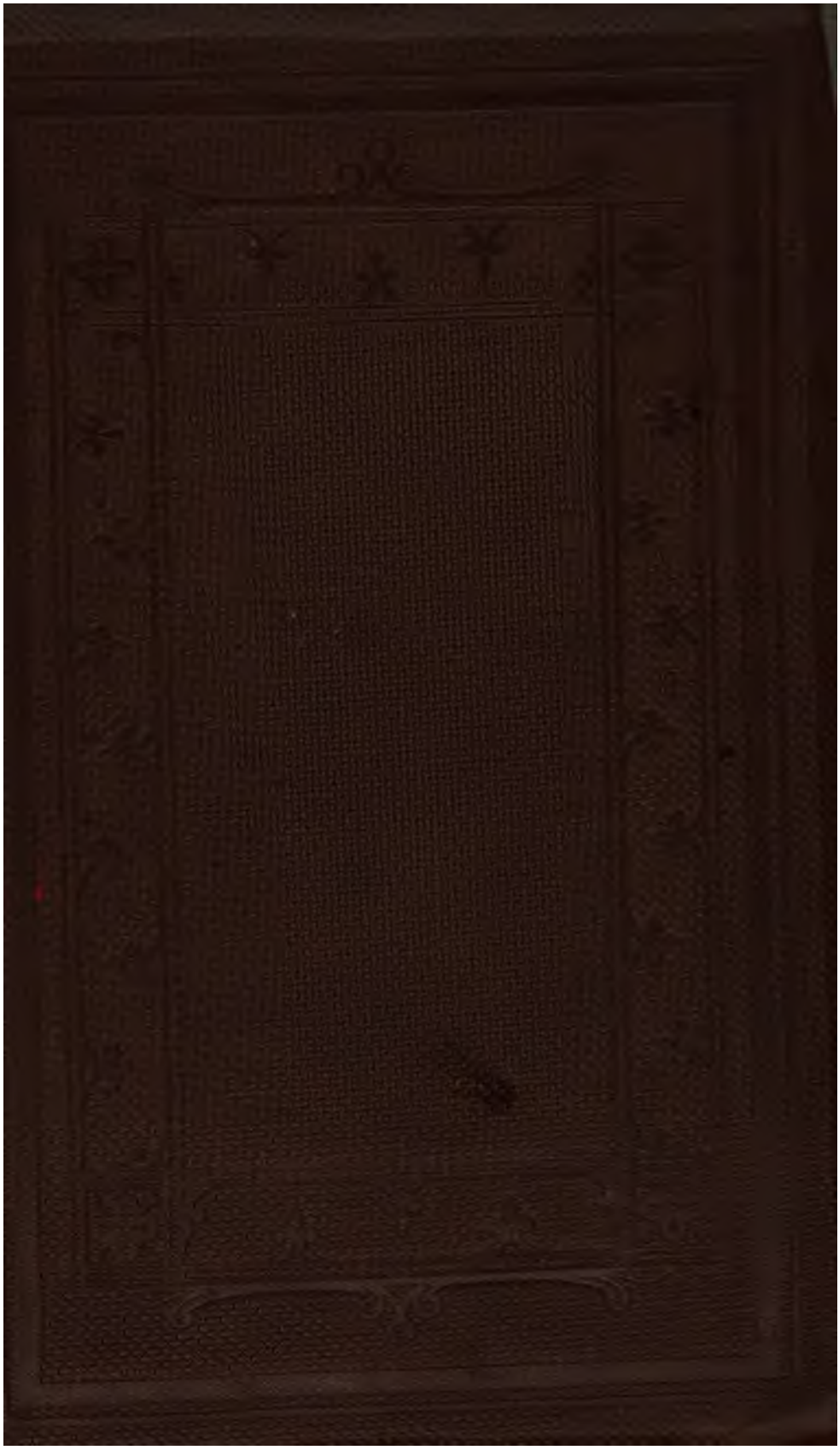
+ *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.

+ *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.

+ *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at `http://books.google.com/`



600102592P

THE

MODERATION

OF THE

CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

BY

TIMOTHY PULLER, D.D.

A REVISED EDITION,

The References throughout the Work being verified by the original Authorities, and cited at length.

WITH AN INTRODUCTORY ESSAY:

"FAITHFULNESS TO ITS SCRIPTURAL PRINCIPLES, THE SAFEGUARD OF OUR CHURCH."

BY

ROBERT EDEN, M.A.,

(LATE FELLOW OF CORPUS CHRISTI COLLEGE, OXFORD;)

HONORARY CANON OF NORWICH; AND VICAR OF WYMONDHAM.

LONDON:

A. M. PIGOTT, 228, KENNINGTON PARK ROAD; AND 13, PATERNOSTER ROW.
HAMILTON, ADAMS, & CO., PATERNOSTER ROW.

MDCCCLXX.

110. m. 53.

INTRODUCTORY ESSAY.

A CORDIAL attachment to the Church of this Nation can be expected only from those who have assured themselves of the reasons which commend that communion, rather than any other, to their approbation. This, of course, involves the admission of the principle of private judgment, which underlies the whole of that great movement which, a little more than three centuries ago, reviewed and remodelled the system alike of Doctrine and of Ritual, and determined, with the consent of the Nation, the future form of both.

Submission to authority may be claimed and conceded, while no true allegiance is yielded to the ruling Power. Now, that which is conceivable in civil relationships, does certainly take place in the

realm of mind and conscience. They only will "obey the truth" as such, "before whose eyes" the reasons for admitting it to the rank of truth, have "been evidently set forth."

On this footing stands our acceptance, alike of the Bible, and of the English Church.

It is a well-known fact, that the Books of the Bible have come to us through the Church, which hands them down as the Rule of Faith; and we of this day and generation should never have known what writings were Holy Scripture, and what were not, but through that instrumentality. This is a striking and oft-forgotten truth; but it is sometimes stated in a way which seems to intimate that they who make the statement imagine that the Church *made* the Scriptures the rule of faith. The Holy Spirit made them such; and the Church, walking in His light, judges them to be such; even as a Jury does not make a man who has been arraigned at the bar innocent when it pronounces a verdict of acquittal; but, satisfactory evidence having been produced to prove him innocent, the jury does its duty by him, and declares him to be such. The Church is a "witness" to the existence of the Books from the beginning, assuring

us that they are not new; and a "Keeper" of them, guarding them as a trustee, and thus equally furnishing assurance of their integrity.

But as the Scripture did not receive its authority from the Church, but from God who inspired the writers of it; so, into the proofs of its inspiration it is not only lawful, but necessary that all should inquire: and if any fail to do this, they do not through such neglect incur the charge of *disbelief*, which is a positive denial of God's word, but of *unbelief*, that state of mind when a man passively accepts that word, but his acceptance of it amounts to no more than not denying it.

The notion of an infallible interpreter, even if such could be found, is, on these grounds alone, for ever excluded. God has given to man the faculty of reason for this very end, that he may exercise it, within the limits prescribed by the nature of the case, upon every subject which can be brought before his mind. As the obedience of the Christian is an "intelligent service,"* so is his faith an intelligent belief: this, however, it cannot be, unless it be based upon personal conviction. The words of the men

* Rom. xii. 1.

of Sychar,* whom the report of the woman had brought to Jacob's well, are remarkably instructive upon this point; and, the comment on them furnished by a pious expositor shall stand for our own:—

"They had before believed for her saying, and it was a good step; but now they find further and much firmer footing for their faith. . . . Thus the instructions of parents and preachers, and the testimony of the Church and our experienced neighbours, recommend the doctrine of Christ to our acquaintance, and incline us to entertain it as highly probable. But Faith comes to its growth, strength, and maturity, by hearing the testimony of Christ himself: and this goes further, and recommends his doctrine to our acceptance, and obliges us to believe it as undoubtedly certain . . . and our 'faith stands not in the wisdom of men, but in the power of God.'" The Church, as a parent, leads her children of each generation by the hand of their "spiritual pastors and masters:" but, when arrived at full age, they search the Scriptures to ascertain for themselves "whether those things" in which they had been instructed, "are" really "so."

The same principle applies to the claims of any

* John iv. 37-42.

particular Church, its doctrines, ritual, and organization: and if we meet with any who is disposed to withhold from us the privilege of inquiry, we see in him one who would rob us of "the liberty wherewith Christ has made us free" from "the yoke," as truly of ecclesiastical, as of Levitical "bondage." A sickly note is sometimes sounded in our ears by those who ask for our "loving obedience" to what "The Church" prescribes. But who does not know that, practically, the Church is what these pleaders for its authority make it to be in their own interpretation of its meaning, upon each question as it arises? It has a plausible sound, but if any listen to it he will have placed around his neck the beginning of those coils within which we see both churches and kingdoms to have been inextricably enfolded.

Of this seemingly modest note the echo is heard at Rome, in the music of the silver trumpets,

("Pastorale canit signum . . . .")*

prelude, it may be, to the full and final blast of the decree of Infallibility.

"O demens, ita servus homo est . . . .
Hoc volo, sic jubeo, sit *pro ratione* voluntas."†

* *Virg. Æn.* vii. 513. † *Juvenal. Sat.* vi. 222.

That dogma, if enunciated, may it is true, lie as a harmless myth in the archives of the Vatican, and in the minds of "the faithful": but, at the same time, it must be remembered that it will demand the submission of the millions who own the spiritual rule of Rome, a submission which no man can yield without first surrendering his highest right, that of exercising his reason upon religion, the highest subject of which it is capable.

Nor will the imposing numbers forming the Œcumenical conclave* obtain for that dogma the respect of the enlightened part of Christendom; for, like its predecessors of Lateran, and of Trent, that Council will have presumed to set up as the Supreme Judge of truth, a mortal man, claiming for him the prerogative of infallibility in opposition to Holy Scripture which alone is infallible.

Then let none be deterred from inquiring into the merits of our system by being told that such an investigation proceeds upon a mistake, for that the "Church does not ask to be patronised by, but patronises you;" since, in such an inquiry, it is not

* See "The Moderation of the Church of England," by T. Fuller, D.D., Chap. v. s. 2. p. 54.

proposed to consider whether the Church of *Christ* is to receive our allegiance; that would be impious presumption: but whether a particular branch of it in our own nation is entitled to our hearty adhesion. For, a national church is an Institution for the teaching of religion. But, "Christian liberty to reason is the basis of acceptable religion," and, though "the privilege may be abused to caprice," yet, "the abuse of a blessing cannot be urged as an argument for its removal."

The proper office of a church may be thus briefly set forth. It has pleased God, in His mercy, to reveal to his ignorant and sinful creature, man, a number of truths respecting Himself, and the destiny of human beings, and the method by which grace and power to do His will are conveyed into the soul. To preserve and make known those truths is the duty of the "church throughout all the world." In deciding upon the claims of any particular or local communion, the inquiry is, how far it has fulfilled, in its place and proportion, the obligation which rests upon the Universal Body.

Now, it is only because the church of this land can be shown to make good to its people this require-

ment, that it puts forth a claim to their allegiance. "Mine answer to them that do examine me" (we may imagine Her to say) "is this:"—If the doctrines preached by Apostles are the test of true teaching, which of them is not unfolded in my Liturgy, Sacraments, Articles, and Homilies? If it be further requisite that no addition be made to Apostolical doctrine, in what particular have I gone beyond the word of the Lord to say more of my own mind? in what instance has a Scripture truth been damaged by the admixture of any corrupting human element? Or if, to perfect the pretensions of a church, it be required that, in her system, no part of Apostolic truth have been kept back, what have I hidden of all the things which the Lord said unto me by His inspired servants, so that the portraiture of Divine truth, as drawn by my hand, should be pronounced defective?" Like the Prophet of old, our Church calls all Israel, and says to them—What have I invented, or added, or defaced? "witness against me before the Lord." And now, as then, the reply to the challenge is one of the most complete vindication.

To make good these assertions would demand that we should enter minutely into the Formularies of the Church, a task too wide for this place. It is

important, however, that every churchman should satisfy himself upon these points; for we may not count it a light matter whether the religious system to which we ally ourselves from the beginning to the end of our life, be one which will guide our feet into the way of truth, or keep them in the path of even partial error. Were the question of membership in the communion of the national church treated thus seriously, and viewed as a part of the accountableness under which all are placed, the result would be found in the growth of a church community, not made such by inheritance, or accident, or blind acquiescence, but composed of a well grounded, and therefore, a stedfast people.

There are few who are not familiar with the cry which has, at various moments, been raised, "The Church is in danger;" the meaning attached by the alarmists to the word "church," whether its emoluments, or its truth, not being always quite clear.

The case of danger to the continued existence of the church, as an Establishment, seems to stand thus:— It has been statistically shown (at a former Census), that, taking into the calculation those classes only

whose habits are in any sense religious, the sects, that is the various forms of Dissent, taken together, amount to just one half of the entire population, the other half being, nominally at least, found in the ranks of the Church. Among the former, the non-conforming half, there have ever been, hitherto, not a few who, with decided preference and habits in favour of their own method, retain a good feeling towards the national Institution. But it cannot be hoped that this will not be driven out and destroyed by Romanizing propensities and practices.

The heart of England being, as we believe, honestly and deeply Protestant, sound and right in its attachment to Reformation principles, what is it reasonable to expect from the other division, the Church-half of the people of this land, if the gangrene of Romish propensities is found to spread through the tastes and the actions of the clergy? what but that the thinking and conscientious portion of the nobility and gentry, merchants and tradesmen, and with these the sensible middle-class generally, will say, We require for our wives, sons and daughters, and servants, Protestant teaching, agreeable to the plain intention of the Book of Common Prayer: and so long as the Executive of the original law and constitution of

our church continue to supply this teaching, and so to fulfil the compact originally made by the Church with the State, we will stand by the Institution for its important uses. If, however, the machinery which was constructed to furnish this valuable article fails to do so, let it be broken up.

And it must be expected that such opinions will be made to find their way to the Parliamentary-Representatives of those who hold them. Now, it has been seen what a single session could effect in reference to one section of our ecclesiastical system. Who shall venture to say to what measures of hostility the Romish bias, found in a considerable number of the parochial clergy, unrebuked and unarrested, may not goad on a disappointed and irritated number of churchmen, within an equally short space of time? Those of the clerical body who perpetrate, and of the lay, who do not resolutely frown down, the treachery to Protestant principles which has made such way in our church practices, should such a calamity overtake us, must be prepared to confess that at their door lies the guilt of the legislation which has brought it to pass.

In a Work which was written near the close of the

Seventeenth century,* the last chapter is "An earnest persuasive to continue in the Church of England," drawn forth by the apprehensions which the writer entertained, in common, it may be supposed, with many other sound Protestants, that the Popish leanings of James II. would have the effect of driving some into Non-conformity. The principal argument by which the writer would enforce his entreaties to his brethren not to quit the church, is, that the "clergy" of that time "were no friends to Popery." And, so long as the same assurance can be given by their Ministers to the people of this nation, whom we are accustomed to call, by way of distinction, the Laity, ('the Church,' however, being the true Scriptural correlative of 'Ministers'), so long as the appointed teachers of religion, in this nation, can satisfy their congregations and parishioners that they are neither hankering after Rome, nor desiring to be "lords over God's heritage, but ensamples to the flock," the language of 'earnest persuasion' will be superfluous. A sound, and enlightened, and modest clergy will as certainly make intelligent and well-affected churchmen of the great body of the people, as a Romanizing and therefore

* "The Faith and Practice of a Church of England Man," by WILLIAM STANLEY, D.D., Dean of St. Asaph.

a retrograding clergy, will produce disgust and aversion, and, it may be feared, secession from a communion in which Truth is found to be betrayed by those who had engaged to defend the citadel in which she dwells. The teaching which recedes further and further from superstition, and advances towards the full light of the Gospel, like Him whom it 'lifts up,' will 'draw all men to' it; while that which is discovered to be working back from light to darkness, will be followed by an alienation of mind as enduring as it is just.

GENERAL INDEX

TO

THIS EDITION.

	PAGE
Editor's Preface	vii
Notice of the Author	xxiii
Original Title-page	xxv
The Epistle Dedicatory	xxvii
To the Reader	xxx
Contents	xxxvii
The Moderation of the Church of England, in Eighteen Chapters	1

EDITOR'S PREFACE.

He who republishes the work of another stands in a very different relation to it from the original author: what the latter could not, without the highest degree of presumption, claim for his own production, the reproducer may fairly assert in its favour. The Editor avails himself of the benefit of this distinction, when he assures himself that the work, which, after an interval of more than a century and a half, is now again presented to the public, is a valuable gift to the English Church.

The posture of affairs as affecting religion at the time when the following work was composed, was especially critical. At the latter end of the reign of Charles the Second, on the one hand the Noncon-

formists were contending with unabating ardour for the abolition of the Liturgy, and keeping alive the note of discontent which they had raised at the memorable Savoy Conference: on the other, the Romanists were carrying on those restless designs which were brought to light in 1677, in the memorable plot for the re-establishment of their system in England. Two years after the above named date, Dr. Puller wrote his valuable treatise, "The Moderation of the Church of England."

The excellency of MODERATION consists not merely in its being allied to peace: for though peace is dear, and its promoters "blessed;" yet, when it comes in competition with truth, it is certainly less precious than the latter. That which makes moderation so peculiarly valuable is, its nearness to truth. If we are seekers of truth, we really take the course of approaching close to it by following the line of moderation, more than by any other method. We have in this matter to beware of ourselves, and to remember our natural infirmity. Our own personal bias; a mind that has never been duly disciplined; and that has been led by a perverse one-sided inclination—this may lie at the foundation of the course we take. Opposite methods of action naturally proceed from those the original tendency of whose minds was

opposite: whereas, both parties should have had their minds well attempered; and then they might have met, or have been much nearer to meeting, in the centre. Nor is it a slight argument in favour of MODERATION, but rather a very strong one,—and which seems to mark it out as the right course,—that it conciliates and wins. It is far better to gain men over to great principles and substances of truth by adopting such a method, than hinder them from coming up to the acknowledgment of these great commanding principles by the lengths to which we go on other points, which possibly in themselves are not of the highest moment, and certainly inconsiderable when compared with the grand aim of bringing men, upon a great scale, to confess and to obey some great master laws of truth. The motives of such friends to MODERATION will be misrepresented: but when we have failed to convince our brethren by protesting the singleness of our aims, we must retire within the consciousness of the purity of our motives.

This inquiry will ever arise in the minds of those who hear MODERATION spoken of as the praise of any system; whether it is a moderation which sacrifices any of the essential parts of truth: and should this appear to be the case, our admiration

of the system will then be very qualified; since however we may respect the motives of those who have abstained from the extremes, whether of excess or defect, we may be compelled to withhold our approbation from their statements, because the proportions of truth may yet not be fairly exhibited. The honest-minded lover of truth will feel dissatisfied at the very outset of his inquiry, if he discovers that the authors of the system before him have made it their paramount object, merely to avoid extremes. It must be made clear to him that the chief point kept in view by the authors, was to leave out nothing of essential truth; and that then, (but only subordinately to that grand constraining rule,) the avoidance of extremes, of either class, was carefully studied.

It is the property of a great mind to regard all things in their just proportions; neither to magnify what is small, nor to depreciate what is important: to assign the first place to that which is of primary necessity; and subordinate places to matters which are of inferior weight. To the praise of such greatness, the Church of England is entitled. If when we speak of doctrine, discipline, and rites, we adopt the order of their relative importance, it will appear that our Church has been aware of the relation. Of doctrine, that it be purely scriptural, she has been most

jealous: of discipline, that it be after an Apostolical pattern, she has shewn herself tenacious: of rites, that they be, as far as possible, uniform, she has not been unmindful. The language she has held respecting each is the best evidence of her views of the relative dignity of each. Hear her speaking of doctrine, as in the sixth Article of Religion, and she is peremptory: of discipline, as in the Preface to the Ordination Services, and she makes her confident appeal to Scripture and ancient testimony; yet in terms less strong than the former: while, in matters of ritual and rubric, (as in the Prefaces "concerning the Service of the Church" and "Ceremonies,") her intentions are plain, but temperately and considerately propounded. Thus does she vindicate her claims to that distinctive title which the author of the following Work applies to her. She is a Moderator. In this capacity she sat in the assembly of disputants from the middle of the sixteenth, and nearly to the end of the seventeenth century, during the whole of which period the convulsions of religious difference that shook Europe to its centre, made her position no quiet one. Yet, through those agitations she held her seat, mildly but firmly presiding: and, in the chair of the congregation of churches, she still is found remembering her duty, and maintaining her character. That which completes the excellence of the Church

of England is, that amid her determined moderation, nothing has been sacrificed. The framers of any system, civil or religious, whose aims are, merely to correct the extravagancies that have grown up at any one period, and to avoid extremes, will find, ere long, that they have to do their work again. They have made only a temporary provision; and when the times have changed their aspect, and new forms of evil arise, they have to do their work over again. The house must be enlarged, or contracted, or, it may be, entirely rebuilt, to suit the altered climate, or season, or circumstances. Under no such necessity has the English Church ever found herself placed. She assembled all her forces upon the field, before she began to marshal them. She encompassed, as it were, the whole ground of truth; surveyed it from a high point of view; and satisfied herself that no essential principle was absent. Then, and not before, she began the work of disposing of each in its proper place. This is the feature in the Church of England which crowns and completes her MODERATION,—that it is comprehensive, as well as subordinating.

The application of these remarks to that which is the subject of the following work is obvious. If those men who, in the sixteenth century, remodelled the Church in these realms were governed, only or

principally, by a desire to shun the extremes on either side, whether of Popery or Puritanism; we might commend their prudence under the peculiar difficulties in which they were placed, but we should decline to accept their system. They managed skilfully, we should say, for their time then present; but they did not construct a system for all time: we are not surprised to discover their arrangements to be incomplete, because they were checked in the full pursuit of truth by causes which they could not resist: but these same causes have prevented the result of their efforts from being satisfactory; and therefore, the system to which those efforts were directed, from being final.

Now, it is the fact that those men who settled the principles of our Church in the sixteenth century, were guided by another rule than the defective one which has been alluded to;—it is this fact which gives to the doctrines, discipline, and ritual of our Church, the unalterable character which attaches to them. The holy and learned divines whom God raised up at that crisis were aware of the task they had to fulfil. It lay upon them, indeed, to rescue the Church of that generation from the corruptions in which she was encrusted: but this was to be done for perpetuity; and therefore the rule by which they proposed to act

must be one that could itself bear to be tested. That which was to last to the end, must be framed upon principles that had existed from the beginning. Primitive Christianity;—the idea of the church as it was in the days of the Apostles,—this must be the standard which regulates the judgment of those who design to set up a system which is to know no alteration. "That which was from the beginning" is alike the subject of an unchanging Gospel, and the vindication of an unchanging Church.

This, then, is the rock of stability on which the English Church stands, that she is primeval. Had those who remodelled her in the sixteenth century proposed to themselves merely to "serve their own generation," without any regard to the "children which were yet unborn," the edifice which they reared would for ever have been open to the imputation of being imperfect. Like the tabernacle of old, it would appear to be a structure for a merely transient purpose; and we could shew no reason why, having done a service of three centuries, it should not be demolished; with every respectful acknowledgment of its past uses, but with a conviction that the time had arrived for setting up a building of a more universal character, relieved of any characteristics of a temporary nature to cramp its space and

deface its countenance. Pleas for alteration of this kind, the force of which it would not be easy to resist, were the foundations of our National Church other than they are,—are for ever excluded by the primitive nature of our Church. Whether we inquire of her doctrine, her order, or her forms, she treads in the steps of those who themselves followed closely the track of the Church's Lord: and no maturity which the lapse of centuries can be imagined to confer, can compare with the ripeness both in truth and in rule, which they had attained, who had learned either from the Lord himself or from those whom he trained, what was "the mind of Christ."

Within this palladium of strength—her primitiveness—the English church is protected, not only from any danger of being overthrown, but from being troubled with any proposals for her re-organization. Ever open as she ought to be, and (we trust) is, to suggestions for the more effectual carrying out of her principles, her ear is fast closed against any such review of the principles themselves as might lead to a change thereof. How can she allow herself to be accessible to any such proposals, when, three centuries ago, she fixed her views upon the model of Christ and his Apostles? and, following such an example, fixed them irrevocably? Grant that the

divines who dealt with our Church in the sixteenth century, adopted as the mould wherein she was to be recast, the period of genuine primitiveness which has been referred to; and it is a necessary inference that the system which from them, has come down to us—we do not say need not, or ought not, but cannot possibly, be changed.

But, when those men who had the task of reconstructing the National Church after the model of primeval Christianity, began their work, they found it to be one of peculiar difficulty. They did not alight upon a ground swept clean, with the materials of primitive truth and order brought to their hands, out of which, with the model of the Apostolic church before their eyes, they were to raise a precisely similar edifice. In such a case, their task had been a comparatively easy one. Their business then had only been, to study well their model; and, from it, to frame a building "after the pattern shewn them." Far different, however, and much more arduous was the labour assigned to them. Instead of making a constitution, they had to conform to a constitution already fixed. Instead of striking out a totally new plan, they had to adhere to a plan already prescribed. The wildness of speculation, and the vagrancy of caprice were alike restrained by the

fundamental law which was to regulate all their movements. Immoveable barriers of primeval law, or of unquestionable precedent were to repress the outbreaks of passion, and to circumscribe the wanderings of an otherwise irresponsible humour. They found themselves obliged to conform to a settled rule both of doctrine and order, while they were called upon to cleanse away the corruptions of the one, and to disencumber the workings of the other. Every thing essentially original was to be preserved, while all that was mischievous, the accretion of later ages, was to be effectually removed.

Herein then lay the special difficulty of the work. Eminent piety must be found in those who were to be the leaders in an enterprize involving the interests of holiness: sobriety must be a conspicuous quality in their judgments, as a guarantee that they would not demolish what ought to be upheld: and disinterestedness, that private aims might not creep into the designs which ought to have an exclusive regard to the public good. What hearts and heads and affections were needed for such a work at any period and under the most favourable circumstances! but, how much more when we look at the actual condition of the Church at that moment of time. On the one side stood the Romanist with his

unyielding pretensions and unscriptural dogmas: on the other the followers, both in doctrine and discipline, of that Genevan structure which was erected not so much as being the truest copy of what was primitive in both respects, as an antidote to the abuses of the system against which it was a protest. Of this latter extreme, the Puritan school was but a modification. It sprang up at a later day, and its immediate causes were different: but, in both, aversion to Romish extravagancies was at the foundation of the course pursued. In the case of the Scotch communion, its members separated immediately from Romish abuses: whilst the Puritans set themselves up against what they held to be too great a conformity to the practices of Rome in a Church which yet had quitted her communion.

On waters rendered thus troublous by blasts that blew fiercely from opposite directions, was the Ark of God tossed, at the period referred to. And surely no argument need be used to shew that MODERATION was, of all qualities, the most indispensable for this conjuncture. Zeal uncontrolled will speedily overthrow what it can never rebuild. Hatred of evil, if it is not regulated, will carry the principle of change too far. The men therefore, whom this crisis called for were such as, while vigorously setting themselves

to rectify every abuse, would stop short when they had accomplished that good work: they must be men in whom piety and discrimination were so happily united, that whilst, in respect of things intrinsically evil in the system their "eye" should "not pity" them, neither should they "spare," nor "conceal" them,—they should yet sacrifice nothing that was excellent at the bidding of resentment or clamour.

It will readily be perceived that the MODERATION which such a task demanded was not a mere mechanical process, but a habit of the mind. The medium to be preserved was not of a geometrical kind, in which an equal distance was to be kept from either extreme. The alterations made upon such a principle as this might serve a present turn; but they could not be enduring. Permanency is an attribute that belongs only to Truth. And, it is our unspeakable happiness that the men whom God raised up to do the great work of the sixteenth century, were both aware of the distinction of which we speak; and, by the bias of their minds and their training, qualified to act under its guidance: so that the Church system which they were the instruments of setting up in these realms, is a system according to Truth itself; and being such, is for all times, without accession, and without diminution. The

review which they made of doctrines, and order, and usages was made in the most leisurely manner. The consent of the Church, through its clerical and lay representatives, was obtained—not by surprize—but after the most lengthened deliberation, and in the most solemn form. Our Church rests not upon a system of truths partially set forth, and which, on that very account, must sooner or later be demolished, in order to its being more perfectly rebuilt: but it was Truth full-orbed which the men of the sixteenth century asserted; and in which, only because it was such, they called for the unchangeable acquiescence of the nation. Clearly to see this point, is of the utmost importance. Acknowledged and adhered to, it will keep our footing as English churchmen, firm: —given up, or questioned, it makes us assailable by every species of foe.

To illustrate this temperate spirit of the Church of England, and at the same time, to shew that, in maintaining it, she compromised nought of essential truth, is the aim of the work which is now re-published. The reader of it will be surprised and delighted at the discoveries which it makes to him of the wisdom of our Church. Her services, her Articles and Homilies, he has often admired for their sublime sentiments and solid truths: but he will now

regard the Church of England as an inheritance doubly dear to him, because it has been shewn to be a structure of divinely inspired prudence, and admirable skill. He will learn to bless God with a fervour hitherto unknown, for having made his feet to rest upon such a sure ground; and, though he may not have the pain of reflecting that he has ever, with the open enemies of our national Church, "thought scorn of that pleasant land," in which God has cast his earthly lot; he will lament that he has lived so long insensible to the advantages of his situation. When he sees the dispassionate and well-balanced judgment of our Church in the method in which she has asserted her doctrines, defended her order, and prescribed her ritual;—the veneration of spirit with which she has held to ancient precedent, and departed only from the abuses of its application;—how firmly she has "held fast" that which either scripture, or the best days of antiquity, had commended to her as "good;" and how mildly she has treated those foreign Communions from whom Providence (in the long and uncontrollable course of its dealings) seems to have withheld the knowledge, or to have barred up the way to adoption of the more excellent way;—when he reads, in the following treatise, the grounds of her ritual directions; and learns that they are not designed as snares to the consciences, nor as thorns

in the sides of her children; but as provisions for general uniformity of procedure in holy offices;—when he has been made to dwell upon the identity of our doctrinal confessions with those of the "holy Church of all ages," and throughout all the world: upon the orders of our ministers as being unquestionably of apostolic character, and yet, not insisted on in so exclusive a manner, as to compel painful and revolting inferences respecting such as have them not; and upon the scriptural excellence of our forms of worship:—and has moreover had it demonstrated to him that these combined excellences cannot be predicated of either of those systems between which the MODERATION of our Church nicely steers her course;—upon a review of all these privileges the ordinary reader (and it is for him, that this Work is republished) will say of our Church, taking its date from the middle of the sixteenth century, "This hath God wrought:" and will feel that a dispensation is laid upon him "in his vocation and ministry," to conserve its interests committed to his trusteeship, according to the integrity of its early principles.

NOTICE OF THE AUTHOR.

The Author of the following Work was a Fellow of Jesus College, Cambridge: his name occurs in the List of New Fellows instituted by Bishop Wren, in 1660. "Eodem die [omnium Sanctorum] institutus est Tim. Puller, Hertford, A.M., ad Sodalitium in eod. Coll. per mort. Antonii Green vacans." He took the degree of A.M. in the following year, and that of B. D. in 1667. In the year 1671 he was presented to the Rectory of Sacomb (or Sawcombe) in Hertfordshire; and two years afterwards, in 1673, took the degree of D.D. Dr. Puller became Rector of St. Mary-le-Bow in London, in 1679; the same year in which his Work is published. It is reasonable to conclude that this preferment was an expression of the esteem in which the Archbishop of Canterbury (the patron of St. Mary-le-Bow) held Dr. Puller's work, "The Moderation of the Church of England." He died in London in November, 1693; and is stated to have been buried in Bow Church.

THE

MODERATION

OF THE

Church of England,

Considered

As useful for allaying the present distempers which the indisposition of the Time hath contracted.

BY

TIMOTHY PULLER, D. D.

Pref. to the Book of Com. Pr.

It hath been the wisdom of the Church *of* England, *ever since the first compiling her publick* Liturgy, *to keep the* Mean *between the* two Extremes. ——

—— *In which review we have endeavoured to observe the like* Moderation.

LONDON,

Printed by *J. M.* for *Richard Chiswell*, at the *Rose* and *Crown* in S^t^ *Paul's* Church-Yard,

M DC LXXIX.

TO THE

MOST REVEREND FATHER IN GOD

WILLIAM,[1]

BY DIVINE PROVIDENCE,

LORD ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY,

PRIMATE OF ALL ENGLAND AND METROPOLITAN, AND ONE OF HIS MAJESTY'S MOST HONOURABLE PRIVY COUNCIL.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GRACE,

THIS Essay for the vindication of our Church, addresseth in just gratitude to your Archiepiscopal See, with this assurance, that the MODERATION OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND oweth itself as much to the wisdom and admirable temper of your Grace's predecessors, as to any one thing whatsoever, next to the most Divine and supreme influences, which so signally governed them, and the rest of our first Reformers, to follow incomparably the sage advice which Gregory the Great anciently sent to your predecessor Austin of Canterbury; that of the divers usages of several churches, he should choose what was most religious and right for the use of the English: "for," said that Bishop of Rome, "things are not to be loved for the sake of a place, but places for the sake of good things;" according to which determination of that learned and pious father, it may be easy now to decide, what Church, whose Primates, which Constitution deserves our love and honour most: unless any will prefer that which is extravagantly corrupt, before what is most moderately and excellently reformed.

[1 Abp. Sancroft.]

Your Grace best knows, how that brotherly[1] sort of communication was generally preserved in the Church by other Patriarchs, even with the Bishops of Rome, so long as these were examples of the same moderation with S. Gregory; who with a primitive Roman courage, protested against the insolency of their styling themselves Universal; which well enough agrees with the solecism of those who call only themselves Catholics. Before which novel kind of fantasies, it is well known, such as Boniface the Martyr, the Apostle of the Germans, (as Baronius mentions,[2]) mutually desired advice, not only from Rome, but of the Primates of England.

And whereas (even since the first Reformation) there have been Archbishops of Canterbury, who have not only, with wondrous success, governed and defended our Church, from both sorts of adversaries, but have testified to the equity of her Rubrics, with their own blood; when we consider what kind of adverse parties were the authors of their martyrdom, (even the same who have given the Reformed Church of England, her two most extreme refining trials,) we must acknowledge them in the direct succession with your Grace, to be not only the glorious instruments, but also the most famous witnesses and proofs of the MODERATION OF OUR CHURCH: who bear the first names in her dipticks, and deserve here, first, with reverence to be mentioned to your Grace: who also for your inviolable adherence to the Church in spite of sufferings, must hereafter be celebrated among her Confessors.

There may be some account, why in this argument such an undertaking as this (were it more worthy) should especially desire your

[1 Numquid non, sicut vestra fraternitas novit, per venerandum Chalcedonense concilium hujus Apostolicæ sedis antistites cui, Deo disponente deservio, universales oblato honore vocati sunt? Sed tamen nullus unquam tali vocabulo appellari voluit, nullus sibi hoc temerarium nomen arripuit; ne si sibi in Pontificatus gradu gloriam singularitatis arriperet, hanc omnibus fratribus denegasse videretur.

Greg. Regist. Epist. lib. v. Indict. xiii. Ep. xviii. tom. ii. Par. 1705.

2 Cui magis elaborandum fuit in correctione pravorum morum virorum ecclesiasticorum, quam in conversione Gentilium, ut ejus literæ eodem argumento datæ ad Danielem suum olim in Anglia Episcopum docent.

Baron. Annal. Eccl. Antverp. 1601. tom. ix. p. 81. ad. an. 726. See also his Epistle to Egbert. tom. ix. p. 110.]

patronage; not only in humble deference to the authority your Grace doth sustain in our Church (to the universal joy, and serious triumph of all, whose affections have not been depraved with schism and ill-nature): but, in a more immediate reference, because to your special Archiepiscopal prerogative belongeth the peculiar right and faculty of those dispensations, which are a part of the equity of our Church, and her liberal benignity in that ἐπιείκεια, which hath been always honoured as a most venerable part of her Laws.

Since therefore unto your clemency, is so suitably committed, in this public constitution, the custody of our Church's indulgence and benignity; the MODERATION OF THE CHURCH, with more than usual confidence, returns to your Grace for what her casuists call "inculpata tutela;" and fears not now to be denied, since clemency is not only the dignity of your title, but your nature: neither is your primacy in our Church more eminent than your moderation is exemplary and known unto all: which I presume only to mention, to borrow from thence a most reverend lustre and life to the noble truth I have defended.

And so far as I have not improperly now asserted the cause of the Church, in which you preside, I am sure not to sink in my trust of being supported by your Grace's good acceptance of the sincere undertaking of,

May it please your Grace,
Your most obliged, humble
And dutiful Servant,
TIMO. PULLER.

TO

THE READER.

If ever the practice of Moderation, as well as any discourse thereon, were seasonable; it may be supposed now, when for aught we know, the lasting happiness of the Kingdom and the Church, may depend immediately upon this rare and desirable temper, acknowledged of all most excellent. Yet it is a most unaccountable mystery of our present condition, that notwithstanding the late surprising discoveries have had nothing more notorious, than that the chief design of the Jesuit faction, among the Romanists, hath been the utter subversion of the present established Church of England; nevertheless, they who call themselves our Protestant Dissenters, cannot be induced to come into entire union with our excellent reformed Church; but rather choose to unite with those Romanists in many of their unreasonable cavils.

One of the methods which they who are principals or accessories in our divisions, for our extirpation have used, hath been to engage the outcry in popular appeals concerning Persecution, or Moderation. This word and thing itself hath indeed much in it which is very divine; and therefore the more likely to be made use of with design, by those who have used the most holy things to the most unhallowed purposes. But I suppose the experience which the late age hath taught us, will not so presently be out of print in our minds, as to make us remit all our caution against the rigours of both extremes; however they bear the same goodly pretences, and unite in the same reproach of our Church.

Wherefore in sincere desire to assist the truth and equity of our Church's cause, as well as to awaken (if I may be so happy) some into a more intimate sense of our common real interest; I thought

it an act of justice, as well as duty, to enter some kind of protestation, and proof also of the Moderation of our Church, that if our Dissenting brethren will but please to come near, and view such fair and open testimonies as I have enumerated; some sympathy with so just a temper may help to cool some of those calentures, to assuage and allay some of those unreasonable disorders, which have discomposed the minds of many at present adverse to our peace:—that while so remarkable a part of our Church's beauty appears from such a lifting up of her veil, so gentle and cheerful an aspect may, we hope, win over some of those into better esteem of our Communion, whom any symmetry can affect, whom any moderation can overcome, if they are not already irreconcileable: that so the mildness and gentleness of our Church may no longer aggravate their separation, with so much the more injustice, unthankfulness, and disingenuity; even as the moderation of our church and government renders the attempts of such Romanists as are concerned in them, not only more scandalous and pernicious; but most impious, horrid, and execrable.

As for others among us, who sometime have appeared weary of their contests; however unsettled, hovering as it were in some motions for union, and frequently are toiling themselves in tedious contemplations of new plots and schemes of government, framing to themselves ideas not very platonical, for peace and settlement; I conceive a seasonable conviction among such of the real Moderation of our Church, might save some of them their grievous labours for the future: for, how deficient they generally have been, they themselves have shewed: and if our Church is very moderate already, I need not say they have been very superfluous.

There are, indeed, those who are still requiring that the Protestant profession among us be settled in a due latitude: whereas we sincerely think the very thing desired is already the true temperament of our Church; and such also as in no sort encourageth any indifferency or neutrality in religion, nor offers any such principles to her sons, as allows them, Proteus or Vertumnus like, to be susceptible of divers shapes and forms in religion; as our adversaries, who do not understand our Church, do suspect: whereas the more any are fixed according to the right principles of our Church, the truer and firmer Protestants such are, we shall manifestly prove: and the more any are such, the more truly moderate they are, and their designs for peace must needs be the most discreet of any, and the more to purpose.

So great a blessing, I confess, is less to be hoped for, so long

as the masters of factions have got such a mighty dominion over the minds of their followers, and have so far entangled them in their own passions and prejudices: neither is it any wonder, that noise and passion, and hardy confidence, iced over with some sanctimonious pretences, can engage the affections of the vulgar, more than ingenuity and real moderation: and when once this humour obtains of disaffecting what is settled, with a lust after novelties; if, what some love to call the pattern in the mount should slide down from heaven in the midst of them, it would not continue long in favour: and therefore no wonder if the Church of England is antiquated among such who are for new modes in ecclesiastical matters, to gratify their sickly fancies, and most divided interests.

While this affection is thus cherished, and thus kept up; the mischief on't is, as when we preach such doctrines as the duty of communion with the Church, and the like, they generally are most absent, whom the same concerns most; so all testimonies which are brought in the cause of God's Church, are seldom taken notice of by such, whom they are most proper to convince; among the Romanists and the Separatists, the keepers of the people's understandings not suffering them to peruse what may awaken or enlighten them: and the more proper any thing is for that purpose, the more industrious are they slily to stifle the reputation of such endeavours.

However, I think it but just to vindicate unto public authority the same fair interpretations, which all private persons would gladly have for what they say or do: and where the Church hath given mild interpretations, on purpose for the general satisfaction of all, it is but reasonable to make recognition of the same; and when they are perversely wrested, fairly to set them forth: and certainly, it is our duty to consider public appointments, which oblige us, with all respect to their true ends and measures equally represented: and it may be thought but a debt of gratitude for us to acknowledge such liberties and indulgences as we enjoy; and to defend from malignant detractions the just wisdom of the Church, in its excellent poise between undue extremes. And so long as I have uprightly designed so just a duty, the easy foresight of many ignorant or malicious exceptions hath not dashed me out of countenance, but excited me; and the more, because I hope I have not only endeavoured to set forth the Moderation of the Church, but to imitate the same: insomuch, that where any thing is spoken to our adversaries in our own defence, I hope it hath not taken example from their own intemperate heats: and since the Son of Syrach

hath bid us "not consult with a coward in matters of war, nor with an envious man of unthankfulness, nor with an unmerciful man touching kindness;" we despair to communicate advice of the Church's mildness, with those who are of unmerciful tempers themselves; therefore the more need we have all, as well as we can, to confirm one another in the recognition of those virtues, which justify the wisdom of our Church, and afford ourselves greater satisfaction in our conformity: although some are continually of such disturbed spirits, uneasy to themselves and morose, they can seldom allow any time to reflect cheerfully and thankfully upon the blessings they enjoy; however they may give us leave to delight ourselves in the serious contemplations of such proportions and measures, as in the frame of our Church are most observable. Which cannot but afford a rare and serious pleasure as well as use; as it must be very delightful to behold any imitation of the Divine wisdom, which hath made all things in number, weight, and measure; which governs the world and all his creatures, according to unsearchable measures of righteousness and equity, who dispenseth all things sweetly and easily. [Eccles. xxxvii. 11.]

The more any civil or ecclesiastical governments partake of such proportions, it cannot but afford a fine and delicate reflection to find them out and admire them: such is the lovely prospect which we cannot but with delight take on the goodly frame and constitution of our Church of England; suitable to the rare temper of our excellent monarchy we live under, and the most benign disposition of our laws:[1] which "give very much to subjects industry, liberty, and happiness; and yet reserve enough to the majesty and prerogative of any King; suitable also to the moderate elevation of our clime:"[2] upon which account many have reckoned England amongst the most fortunate islands; a true garden of delight. "Our lot is fallen in a fair ground: yea, we have a goodly heritage;" "the zone here for ecclesiastical affairs" being very "temperate," as Sir William [Ps. xvi. 6.]

[1] Εἰκ Βασιλ. § 27. p. 183. Lond. 1727.

[2] Non altera credam
Arva Beatorum.
——Nulli violabilis astro
Servat temperiem regio: non uritur æstu,
Non reditura timet glacialis sidera brumæ:
———felicior omni
Terra solo:———non altera credam
Arva Beatorum.
H. Grot. Inaug. Reg. Brit. 1603. Silv. lib. ii. p. 65. Amstel. 1670.

Boswell's expression was to the learned Mede.[1] "We," saith Bishop Bramhall, "live in the most temperate part of the temperate zone, and enjoy a government as temperate as the climate itself: we cannot complain of too much or too little sun: where the beams of sovereignty are neither too perpendicular to scorch us, nor yet too oblique, but that they may warm us."[2]

The Moderation of this Church is fitted also to promote that good nature, which is noted to have such a peculiar sense in the English; which other Languages do as incompletely express, as many of their models do her frame: and, which is above all, this temper is most suitable to our Christianity, "which is not only the best, but the best natured institution in the world;" which the Moderation of our Church doth properly cherish; and appears to be a most noble effect of the mild economy of the Gospel; in the quiet and peace of whose general reformation of the world, blessed be God, the particular reformation of the Church among us was very much alike: when a singular spirit of moderation descended upon our church, like the gentle dew upon the fleece of Gideon; or as the bountiful gifts came down from heaven, accompanied with the sensible appearances of cloven tongues, in an innocent and lambent flame, on the heads of the Apostles, and did them no harm: with such harmless peace and moderation was the Reformation and Restoration of our Church brought about.

[2 Cor. x. 1.] But alas! since the very "mildness and gentleness" of our Lord Christ, by which St. Paul so affectionately entreats the Corinthians, too ineffectually prevails on the Christian world; (notwithstanding no kind of temper hath such proper charms for the very nature of mankind;) no wonder if that Moderation which is the proper glory of the Church of England, cannot persuade either the Romanists or Enthusiasts to be sensible of that wisdom and law of kindness which attempers all the commands and constitutions of our Church: wherefore I know no method which can more

[1 "I find the zone here for ecclesiastic affairs temperate at present and quiet, though now and then producing *capreas saltantes*, and such trifling meteors which busy natures will be raising."

Letter of Sir W. B. from the Hague, 1633. Mede's Works, p. 789. Lond. 1672.]

[2 Εἰρήνην δὲ, καὶ τα ἐκ ταύτης ἀγαθὰ, ἀέρων τε εὐκρασία, καὶ τῶν καρπῶν εὐφορία, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα δὲ τὰ λυσιτελοῦντα τοῖς ἀνθρώποις φιλοτιμηθησεται.

Evagr. Eccl. Hist. lib. iii. cap. 14. p. 344. Par. 1673.

Dean of Canterbury, Nov. 5. 1678.

usefully and compendiously demonstrate the true merit of our Church's praise, than by her Moderation; in which all virtues, as it were by one act of comprehension, are already contained. And if none hitherto have on set purpose undertaken to display the same at large, the true reason might be, there are so many virtues in our Church's constitution, no wonder if none have applied their labours unto every one of them in particular. It is this moderation of our church which renders her so like the primitive and apostolical pattern; and makes her have so much sympathy with the true Catholic Church of Christ.

Unto the judgment of which Church Universal, as our Church of England submits herself, and would at any time (as King James used to declare) refer herself to a free and general Council, if it could be had; which is a worthy instance of their real Moderation: so, and for the same reason, do I here most readily and heartily submit whatsoever I have said or writ, to the judgment of the Church of England: and if, in the variety of matter before me, any thing contrary to, or diverse from the truth she asserts, hath escaped me, I solemnly retract the same.[1]

T. P.

[1] Verum apud Sapientes, atque in famosa nobilique Ecclesia, et cujus specialiter filius sum, superstitione deprehensa; nescio an sine gravi offensa etiam vestri omnium dissimulare potuerim. Quæ autem dixi, absque præjudicio sane dicta sunt sanius sapientis; Romanæ præsertim ecclesiæ authoritati atque examini totum hoc, sicut et cætera quæ ejusmodi sunt, universa reservo: ipsius si quid aliter sapio, paratus judicio emendare.

Bernard. Ep. clxxiv. ad Canon. Lugdun. tom. i. col. x. 172. Par. 1680.

[The author had substituted *hujus* for *Romanæ* to adapt the sentence to his purpose.]

IMPRIMATUR.

Geo. Thorp, R^mo in Christo Patri et D^no D^no Gulielmo Archiep. *Cant.* a Sacris Domesticis.

Ex Ædib. Lambeth. Apr. 28. 1679.

CONTENTS.

CHAPTER I.

OF MODERATION IN GENERAL.

PAGE

The loud demands of late among us for moderation taken notice of.—The specious pretences of several factions thereunto, exposed.—The general meaning of moderation noted.—The use of the Greek word for moderation (ἐπιείκεια) as it is borrowed from the Law, explained.—The forensic notion of moderation applied to moderation in religion.—What is justly expected of those who causelessly blame our Church with want of moderation.—Moderation considered not only as a virtue of public, but of private, persons; both toward their governors first, and also toward one another.—Some general rules or measures according to natural justice and Christianity, whereby we may judge of the moderation of the Church; with the design of this Treatise declared 1

CHAPTER II.

OF THE FALSE NOTIONS OF MODERATION WHICH MANY HAVE TAKEN UP.

How it comes to pass that the name of moderation is so seldom applied to what it ought to be.—The sense of that text inquired into, "Let your moderation be known unto all."—They who esteem themselves sufferers should shew the moderation 13

CHAPTER III.

OF MODERATION WITH RESPECT TO THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

What is to be understood by the Church of England.—The moderation of our Church frequently confessed by her adversaries; sometime truly, sometime upon design: but most often our Church is reproached and opposed for her moderation by each sort of adversaries.—From the joint opposition made against our Church by her adversaries on either hand, is taken the chief inartificial proof of her moderation 20

CHAPTER IV.

OF THE MODERATION OF OUR CHURCH IN RESPECT TO HER RULE OF FAITH.

PAGE

In holding to her true and just measure, as is proved from her Articles and Canons, and other Monuments of the Church.—In her avoiding the extremes of those who take away from the due perfection of holy Scripture, and of others who seem officiously to add thereunto.—In her judgment of the letter and sense of Scripture, and in the use of such consequences, as are duly drawn from thence.—In reference to the versions and translations of holy Scripture, several instances of moderation in our Church.—In her orders also for dispensing the holy Scriptures to all within her communion.—In governing the reading of the Scripture, and communing on the same.—In her judgment of the Canonical and Apocryphal Books.—The Divine Authority of the holy Scripture, our Church rather doth take for granted, than prove too laboriously or uncertainly.—All immoderate extravagancies concerning interpretation of holy Scripture, avoided by our Church 30

CHAPTER V.

OF THE MODERATION OF THE CHURCH IN APPLYING THE RULE OF FAITH TO ITSELF.

Avoiding extremes on either hand, in relation to the authority of the Universal Church.—The Decrees of Councils.—The testimony of the Fathers.—Other Traditions.—Our Church's own testimony.—The use of Reason.—The testimony of the Spirit.—Of the testimony and operation of the holy Spirit: the judgment of our Church according to great moderation, more largely declared 48

CHAPTER VI.

THE MODERATION OF THE CHURCH IN ITS JUDGMENT OF DOCTRINES.

Our Church doth wisely distinguish between what is necessary for Salvation, and what is not.—Her Articles are few.—Which are generally exhibited, not as Articles of Faith, but consent. Concerning subscription.—Our Articles are propounded so as to avoid unnecessary controversy.—The wise moderation of the Kings of England, in their Injunctions to Preachers; and orders taken to preserve Truth, Unity, and Charity.—The controversies of the late age are well moderated, by the determinations of our Church.—As our Church requires our consent in nothing contrary to sense or reason, so it hath also contained itself from immoderate curiosity, in treating of venerable mysteries.—Our Church doth not insist upon such kinds of certainty as others without just cause do exact.—Doctrines are so propounded to those in our Church's communion, as not to render useless their own reasons 71

CHAPTER VII.

OF THE MODERATION OF OUR CHURCH IN WHAT RELATES TO THE WORSHIP OF GOD.

PAGE

Our Prayers are not mingled with Controversy.—They are framed according to a most grave and serious manner, with moderate variety, and proper length.—In the zeal of Reformation our Church did not cast off what was good in itself.—In all our Churches there are the same rules.—Common Prayers for the vulgar required in English.—To Ministers and Scholars a just and moderate liberty allowed.—The obligation of the Church leaves the method of private devotions to a general liberty.—Of the moderation of the Church, in appointing her hours and times of Prayer.—In her use and judgment of Sermons.—In what is required of people with reference to their Parish Church.—The excellent moderation of the Church in her orders for the reverent reading of Divine Service, and consecrating the Sacraments in such a voice as may be heard.—In her form and use of Catechizing.—The interest of inward and outward worship, are both secured according to an excellent moderation in our Church.—The moderation of the Church in what relates to Oaths 103

CHAPTER VIII.

OF THE MODERATION OF THE CHURCH IN RELATION TO CEREMONIES.

In the Ceremonies of our Church, which are very few, and those of great antiquity, simplicity, clear signification and use, our Church avoids either sort of superstition.—They have constantly been declared to be in themselves indifferent and alterable: but in that our Church avoids variableness, is a further proof of its moderation.—They are professed by the Church to be no part of Religion, much less the chief; nor to have any supernatural effect belonging to them.—Abundant care is taken to give plain and frequent reasons and interpretations of what in this nature is enjoined to prevent mistakes.—The moderation of our Church even in point of Ceremonies compared with those who have raised so great a dust in this controversy.—Many innocent rites and usages our Church never went about to introduce, and why.—The obligation of our Church in this matter is very mild.—The moderation of our Church in her appointment of Vestments.—The Benedictions of our Church are according to great piety and wisdom ordered.—The moderation of our Church in her appointments of Gestures.—Of the respect which is held due to places and things distinguished to God's service, our Church judgeth and practiseth according to an excellent moderation 125

CHAPTER IX.

OF THE MODERATION OF OUR CHURCH WITH RESPECT TO HOLY-DAYS, NAMELY, BOTH THE FEASTS AND FASTS OF THE CHURCH.

PAGE

The Feasts of the Church are few; and those for great reason chose: with care to avoid the excesses of the Romanists.—The further behaviour of the Church in her Feasts, most useful and prudent.—We celebrate the memory of Saints, but of none whose existence or sanctity is uncertain. —The excellent ends of our Church's honour to Saints, are set down.— That they are Festivally commemorated, not out of opinion of worship, or merit, or absolute necessity thereof to Religion.—Our Church runs not into any excess, in any Prayer to Saints.—Nor with reference to Images.—Whether our Church in any of these practices, be justly charged of Popery, by those who canonise among themselves those who are of uncertain sanctity.—The moderation of our Church in its honour given to Angels.—And to the Blessed Virgin.—Our Church hath taken great care, that a special honour be had to the Lord's Day; and that the Lord's Day, nor any other Festival, be abused to Luxury and Impiety.— The moderation of the Church, with reference to its Music and Psalmody. —The moderation of our appointed Fasts: the Lenten or Paschal Fast, how far Religious by the Precept of the Church 146

CHAPTER X.

OF THE MODERATION OF THE CHURCH IN REFERENCE TO THE HOLY SACRAMENTS.

The moderation of our Church raiseth no strife about words relating thereunto. Her moderation in what is asserted of the number of Sacraments. In that her Orders for the Administration of the Sacraments are most suitable to the ends of their appointments. In that our Church doth not make the benefit of the Sacraments to depend upon unrequired conditions.—In reference to Holy Baptism. Our Church doth make nothing of the essence of Baptism, but the use of the invariable form. The moderation of our Church towards Infants unbaptized. Her sound and charitable judgment of such as die after Baptism. In some necessary cautions referring to the administration of Baptism. Referring also to the susceptors. In what is required of them who administer that Sacrament.—In reference to the holy Supper of our Lord.—The doctrine of Transubstantiation is rejected by our Church: not running to the other extreme of denying a real presence of Christ in the Sacrament.—The moderation of our Church in complying with the necessity of the Age: but not with the Church of Rome and others, who require their people to communicate not so much as thrice a year.—Participation of the Holy Supper required after Confirmation, but not after the rigid examinations of some, or the auricular confessions of others: neither is it made a private banquet.—In our Church there is not to be a communication of the Eucharist without Communicants: the moderation of the Church in other Rubrics referring to the Holy Communion 172

CHAPTER XI.

OF THE MODERATION OF THE CHURCH IN REFERENCE TO OTHER RITES AND USAGES.

PAGE

The moderation of the Church in its Judgment and use of Confirmation.—Concerning Matrimony, allowing her Clergy to marry: affording opportunity of voluntary celibacy in our Universities, according to a commendable moderation. Undue degrees of Marriages, and some particular times forbid, &c.—In reference to Holy Orders. The moderation of the Church in her Consecrating Ministers. In taking care to have them be as they ought to be, both before and after Ordination, with good effect. Yet if not so great as is desired, why the Church ought not to be accused. In retaining such Orders of Ministers in the Church as are primitive. The moderate judgment of the Church concerning such as have been ordained in the Church of Rome, and elsewhere. Our Church endeavours to preserve all due regard to whatever is consecrated to God. The Power of the Keys asserted in our Church with due moderation.—Of Penance. The moderation of our Church between those who slight penance, and those who explain it extravagantly. The Confession of our Church which is required, is suitable to the design of Repentance. The Seal of Confession in our Church is as sacred as it ought to be. The use of External Penance in our Church according to due moderation. The use of Absolution in our Church maintained according to a just temper.—For Visitation of the Sick. The worthy care of the Church therein, and some instances of its moderation referring thereunto. Our Church's care for preparing those who are of her Communion for Death, without extreme unction in use in the Church of Rome. Many instances of the moderation of the Church, referring to the Burial of the Dead 184

CHAPTER XII.

OF THE MODERATION OF OUR CHURCH IN WHAT CONCERNS THE POWER OF THE CHURCH.

The moderation of our Church owns the power of the Church to be only spiritual.—All other power which ecclesiastical persons receive, is readily acknowledged entirely depending on the favour of our Kings.—The interests of the Kingdom and the Church are excellently accommodated in our Constitutions, which is not done in other models.—The pious moderation of our Kings, preserving their own rightful Supremacy, and leaving to the Church the exercise of their Spiritual Power, acknowledged by our Church.—The just Right of Kings shamefully invaded by other Sects pretending Divine Right: concerning which claim, the moderation of our Church observed.—The dutiful moderation of our Church in asserting monarchy: the first Canon, 1640, justified.—All interests of human society, especially of subjects' allegiance in our Church, abundantly secured, which is not done by those in separation from her.—The Ordinances of our Church, are framed with great mildness and moderation.—The same compared with the mild Obligation which Cardinal Bellarmine pretends the Church of Rome lays upon those of her Communion.—Sundry instances of our Church's great regard to Equity . 211

CHAPTER XIII.

OF THE MODERATION OF THE CHURCH AND KINGDOM, REFERRING TO THE ADMINISTRATION OF PUBLIC LAWS TOWARDS OFFENDERS.

PAGE

The occasion of that mistake which is concerning the unlawfulness of Coercion in cases which concern Religion.—It may be very well consistent with the moderation of the Church (besides her own censures) to approve and sometimes desire such coercion.—The use thereof in many cases relating to Religion, the undeniable Right of the Christian Magistrate.—Some of the chief objections hereunto answered.—Sundry proper instances of the great gentleness and most indulgent care of our Church toward all its Members.—The moderation of the Church and Kingdom not without their requisite and just bounds.—The recourse which our Church desires may be made to the Secular Arm, is not but upon urgent and good occasion.—Our Government defended from unjust Clamours of Persecution, of the Romanists on one side, and the Separatists on the other.—The Kings of England since the Reformation, and especially his present Majesty, glorious examples of this moderation.—The effect of this moderation yet much desired and wanted 224

CHAPTER XIV.

OF THE GENERAL MODERATION OF OUR CHURCH TOWARD ALL THAT DIFFER FROM HER, AND ARE IN ERROR.

Our Church takes universal care to satisfy and reconcile those who differ from her: particularly our Domestic Dissenters, to whom sundry concessions have been made.—Our Church is not forward to denounce curses against those who are not of the same judgment with her.—Our Church doth not judge all according to the consequences of their Doctrines.—In refusing an adverse Party, our Church gives an excellent example, not to use odious Names.—Our Church useth great care to preserve and restore peace.—The moderation of the Church gives it a singular advantage to convince Dissenters upon right and proper principles.—The moderation of our Church doth incomparably qualify her to arbitrate and reconcile the present differences of the Christian Churches.—A Supposition laid down of the most possible means of reconciling a Protestant, and such a Romanist as lays aside Infallibility: and that the Church of England hath done her part, in what was fit, toward any just Reconciliation.—An Answer to that common Calumny of the Separatists, that our Governors in the Church of England have more peace and reconciliation for Papists, than for the most moderate Protestant Dissenters . . 242

CHAPTER XV.

OF THE MODERATION OF THE CHURCH TOWARD OTHER CHURCHES AND PROFESSIONS OF MEN.

PAGE

In that Universal Concord which our Church hath maintained with all, so far as lawfully and usefully it may.—Her protesting against unsufferable Abuses, well consisting with her Moderation and Charity.—Our Church leaveth other Churches to the use of their liberty, and vindicateth that use mutually.—Her especial Moderation and Charity toward the Greek Church.—Our Church's modesty and well-becoming behaviour toward other Churches; and their mutual affection unto ours 256

CHAPTER XVI.

OF THE MODERATION OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND IN HER REFORMATION.

The Reformation of our Church, as it had just grounds, and was by just Authority, so it was managed with due Moderation; the idea of our Reformation having been impartial.—The whole manner of it (so far as concerned our Church) was with great temper.—She separated from the Romish Errors, not from their Persons any more than needs must.—Our Charity exceeds that of the Church of Rome, which denies Salvation to all who are not of her Communion.—The preparation of our Church to submit to the Church Universal, saves us from Schism.—The Reformation of our Church was the more Christian, because not fierce, but well governed.—Albeit the moderation of our Church seems to have enraged her Adversaries; yet because of this Moderation, our Church is the better prepared to survive Persecution.—The moderation of our Church in her Reformation, was founded on rules of absolute Justice, as in sundry great instances is made to appear 264

CHAPTER XVII.

OF THE MODERATION OF OUR CHURCH IN AVOIDING ALL UNDUE COMPLIANCES WITH POPERY, AND OTHER SORTS OF FANATICISM AMONG US.

Notwithstanding our Reformation is the most of any opposite to Popery, how it hath been the craft of the Roman Agents, to raise of it such a suspicion of Popery, as hath been artificially made a very unhappy Instrument of the Divisions which are from our Church.—How the great Labours of our Bishops, and our Clergy, remaining the most impregnable Defence of the Reformation, hath stirred up the more earnest opposition of the Church of Rome to our Church.—The vain and ungrateful jealousies of our Separatists and Enthusiasts, are the more unjust, because they have appeared really acted by that interest, (not in

PAGE

intention, but in event).—Therefore it is a most seasonable work at this time to cast open those Masquerades.—Some moderate Cautions here inserted to prevent any unkind mistakes.—Some Objections to such an undertaking here answered.—That our Separatists and Enthusiasts generally (more or less) do conspire (in fact, albeit not in intent) with the Romanists; instanced as a specimen, in twenty particulars.—Particularly how the Quakers are one with the Papists (how ignorantly soever) in sundry instances.—By what steps and degrees these progresses commonly are made toward Popery by such as separate from Communion with our Church.—What hath been said, confirmed by other rational Proofs.—Some further Reasons why the Clergy, and faithful Sons of our Church, cannot be thought thus concerned, in so much as an Eventual Conspiracy.—An easy Divination of the Consequences of these things, if a due sense of these Matters be rejected, when so fairly and often recommended to the notice of all, with a sincere and affectionate close to such as this Address doth most concern 284

CHAPTER XVIII.

OF THE MODERATION OF OUR CHURCH, AS IT MAY INFLUENCE CHRISTIAN PRACTICE, AND ESPECIALLY OUR UNION.

Some proper Instances from what hath been insisted on at large.—Sundry general Rules agreeable to Reason and Christianity; by which the moderation of private Persons may be measured and directed, particularly of our Dissenting brethren.—Some proper means to reduce Dissenters into Union with the Church, with all Moderation proposed.—The hearty profession of the moderate and sincere purposes of the Writer.—One or two Caveats entered to prevent mistake; and for the Caution of such as will attempt to disprove the main proposition here designed to be evinced.—Some good wishes to the Adversaries of our Church on both sides, such as are fit to conclude a Treatise of the Moderation of our Church . 312

THE

MODERATION

OF THE

CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

CHAPTER I.

OF MODERATION IN GENERAL.

1. We have of late, with both ears, heard the loud demands made for moderation among us: even since the restitution of our Church to its own admirable and equal temper; even since the unspeakable clemency of our most gracious king, and the extraordinary indulgence of the laws, have really anticipated so much moderation, as reasonably might have damped some of those vehement outcries which seem still to offer violence to our senses, as well as to the peace of the kingdom and the Church.

The loud demands of late among us for moderation taken notice of.

But that the sound might come more awful to religious ears, on both sides the cry hath been set up in the words of holy Scripture, "Let your moderation be known unto all: the Lord is at hand." Phil. iv. 5.

Moderation therefore being the word in fashion, by which all divided parties among us use to sanctify their appeals, and make their pretences seem virtuous; it is first to be wished that real truth and goodness, which are the genuine effects of true moderation, were as common as the noise of either.

The specious pretences of several factions thereunto, exposed.

2. All agree that moderation is an excellent virtue, as they said of Hercules, Who ever dispraised him? hence the several factions make such specious pretences thereunto. The sanctimonious Pharisees affected the appearance of mighty moderate men; they could, in the very twinkling of an eye, cast their countenances into a solemn mortified guise; and they were the first that inveighed against persecution, and cried out, "If we had been in the days of our forefathers, we would not have been partakers with them in the blood of the prophets." However they were in their principles prepared to fill up the measure of their fathers; wherefore our blessed Lord called them "serpents;" a subtle, nimble, insinuating generation; full of folds and intrigues; humble and flexible in all appearances of moderation to wind and turn their pretences; but they were a generation of vipers, immoderately cruel and dangerous.

Matt. xxiii. 30.

Matt. xxiii. 33.

In this, as in many other instances, many of the Romanists and the Enthusiasts exceedingly agree, as acted by the same spirit and practice of Pharisaism. The first compass some emissaries of Rome take to make a proselyte, or a novice, (as our Homily calls him,[1]) is with all goodly semblance of moderation. This they show; this they promise; this they challenge from others as especially their due; this, upon sundry occasions, they extol as peculiarly signal among themselves.

In the recantation framed for Antonius de Dominis, he is made to extol "the mild and fatherly care of the Holy Inquisition,[2] which watcheth attentively over our Lord's flock; the ordinary armour of which tribunal are sound doctrine, and instruction full of charity." The answer also made in his name[3] to Bishop Hall, saith,—"The Roman Church doth

[1] "Woe be to you, Scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for you go about by sea and land to make more novices, and new brethren; and when they be let in, or received of your sect, you make them the children of hell worse than yourselves be." Homily of Good Works, Part iii. Lond. 1817.

[2] Sanctæ Inquisitionis benigna ac paterna cura super Dominicum gregem. Consil. reditus Mar. Anton. de Dominis. Rom. 1623, p. 12. Eng. Transl. 1623, p. 29.

[3] p. 56. Parum abfuit quin ego Phalarides et Mezentios apud vos experirer. De Pace Relig. M. Ant. de Dominis. Ep. Vesunt Sequ. 1666, p. 56.

by no means pursue those who differ from it, but teacheth and instructeth them friendly, hears them peaceably," &c. And the Catholic Apologist very earnestly contends, that "Papists are more merciful than Protestants to Dissenters, and do use them very kindly." "Mark in this matter," saith the Rhemist,[1] "the wisdom and moderation of Holy Church." "After I knew," saith De Cressy,[2] "that the Church of Rome was more moderate and condescending than I had before believed," &c. Yea, the pretences to moderation have swelled to that height among some in the Roman Church, that Erasmus[3] hath noted, "Some in his time disputed, whether the Pope was not more mild and moderate than Christ himself, who never was read to have recalled any from the pains of purgatory." But of all, methinks Cardinal Bellarmine[4] hath a most pleasant chapter, only to show the exceeding gentleness and moderation of the Church of Rome, in the mild obligation and sparing number of its laws, to which we shall afford a particular consideration.[5]

By almost infinite arts of this nature they are very industrious to decoy the credulous into the belief of themselves; always representing the bosom of their Church as a warm, soft, easy place, full of mercy and indulgences. And thus far their pretences may be allowed of, that they both recommend and use all soft and gentle means to bring men to an allowance of that doctrine they would insinuate; but as it is only there where they cannot use more forcible ones, so that course continues no longer than till they have brought them over to their Church, whose authority over its own members is always kept up in its utmost force and rigour.

[1] In this matter, to mark only the wisdom and moderation of holy Church, and the Governors thereof on the one side; and the indiscreet zeal of the popular and their factious leaders on the other, is an high point of prudence. Pref. to Reader. New Test. Rhem. Eng. Lond. 1633.

[2] Exomologesis: H. P. de Cressy. Par. 1647, ch. 41, p. 290.

[3] An clementior sit quam fuerit Christus, cum is non legatur quenquam a purgatoriis pœnis revocasse. Erasm. in Nov. Test. 1 Tim. i. Lugd. Bat. 1705, tom. vi. col. 927.

[4] V. Apologiam Smytheam de benignitate Ecclesiæ.

[5] "Non est quod querantur onus legum Pontificiarum et numero et gravitate esse importabile." Lorini in Act. Apost. cap. xv. v. 28. Lugd. 1605, p. 661. Chap. 12. sec. 9.

St. Austin[1] tells us how the enthusiastic Donatists (though both they and after them the Circumcellions, were intolerably severe to the Catholics when they had power, yet) were great advocates for liberty of conscience in the free practice of it; which because Julian,[2] the apostate, granted them, in crafty design to confound Christianity,[3] how did they magnify him as a mighty moderate[4] prince, and set up his image! And ecclesiastic history abounds with instances of most heretics, who invaded the Church by this serpentine way of insinuation; entering in by all supple accommodation to the innocence and mildness of the dove, but afterwards they appeared of another spirit; like the locusts of the bottomless pit, "which had hair as the hair of women, but their teeth were as the teeth of lions; and they had tails like unto scorpions, and they had stings in their tails." So among the Disciplinarians to the Fifth Monarchy man; when they want power and opportunity they have all show of gentleness, and of calmness as a lamb;[5] but when the evil spirit moves them to resist and overthrow, how full are they of the highest Corybantick fury!

Rev. ix. 8, 10.

The general meaning of moderation noted.

3. Since then so many opposite parties pretend all to moderation,[6] as the special virtue in which they themselves excel,

[1] Aug. cont. Gaudent. Donat. lib. ii. passim. Par. 1694, tom. x. p. 666.

[2] Monebat civilius, ut discordiis consopitis quisque nullo vetante religioni suæ serviret intrepidus. Quod agebat adeo obstinate, ut dissensiones ugente licentia non timeret unanimantem plebem. Amm. Marcell. lib. xxii. sec. 5, p. 274. Lips. 1808.

[3] Quibus succedens Julianus desertor Christi et inimicus, supplicantibus vestris Rogatiano et Pontio, libertatem perditionis parti Donati permisit: denique tunc reddidit basilicas hæreticis, quando templa dæmoniis, eo modo putans Christianum nomen posse perire de terris, si unitati ecclesiæ, de qua lapsus fuerat, invideret, et sacrilegas dissensiones liberas esse permitteret. Aug. Par. 1679, Ep. cv. tom. i. sec. 9, col. 299.

[4] Non dicimus, Si vos non sperastis in homine et in principe, cum homini imperatori pagano et apostate dixistis, quod 'apud eum sola justitia locum haberet.' Aug. cont. Petil. lib. ii. c. 97. Par. 1694, tom. viii. col. 286.

[5] Nulla bestia mansueta dicitur quæ neminem mordet cum dentes et ungues non habet.

[6] "O mites Diomedis equi, Busiridis aræ
Clementes: tu Cinna pius: tu Spartace lenis!"

and require it of others with a countenance of pity that they want it; the mistake is, either they know not what true moderation is, or else they judge amiss of them to whom it belongs. To proceed therefore more clearly, we shall first enquire into the name and thing itself, for the better understanding also of that text, "Let your moderation be known unto all," and for the right application thereof. Phil. iv. 5

Moderation in general may note that fit and proper temper which is observed in matters of judgment and practice; a taking right measures, as the phrase is, and avoiding all undue extremes; and therefore is the effect of such a prudence as doth contain the affections and endeavours within those proportions and bounds as are most suitable to the goodness of the end, and the necessity and use of the means: and thus it doth not differ much from that mediocrity in which Aristotle placeth the formal reason of virtue, the definition of which he doth no otherwise establish[1] than in the judgment of a truly prudent man, All virtue consisting either in a mean or in a moderation, and being the effect of prudence, it may receive several names,[2] according to the condition of the matter about which it is conversant.

4. Ἐπιεικές, or ἐπιείκεια, which we commonly render moderation, is a word frequently used by Aristotle, and was taken from the Greeks into the Treatises of the Roman Laws; yea, so excellent is the sense of the word according to the explication of the philosopher, that the most skilful in the Roman laws and language, and Justinian himself, and his reformers of the laws, never fitted any Latin word for the same entire sense. Neither doth any common language reach the full comprehension of the same signification; wherefore the Civilians[3] and Schoolmen[4] and others do very frequently accept of

The use of the Greek word for moderation (ἐπιείκεια) as it is borrowed from the Law, explained.

[1] Καὶ ὡς ἂν ὁ φρόνιμος ὁρίσειε. Arist. Eth. lib. ii. c. vi. Oxon. 1716.

[2] Potest tamen esse quod nomen ἐπιείκεια apud Græcos per quandam similitudinem transferatur ad omnes moderationes. T. Aquin. Summ. Theol. Part II. Part ii. Quæst. cxx. art. ii. col. 115. Ven. 1496.

[3] Bonam fidem Græci ἐπιείκειαν, nos bonum et æquum dicimus. Minsinger lib. iv. tit. 6.

[4] D. Tho. 2. 2æ. Q. 120, art. 1. v. Suarez de Legibus, Lond. 1679.

the same Greek word, thereby to express that kind of equity which sometimes gives a remission to the rigour of laws; sometimes doth supply their deficiencies.

So that (ἐπιείκεια), moderation, as it is now generally used, is a word borrowed from the law, and is used by the masters thereof to denote such a gentle and benign temper, as disposeth those who have the administration of the laws to remit of their rigour; where either, first, they press too hard upon particular persons; or else, secondly, to supply the defects of the said laws where they provide not sufficiently for particular cases: in order thereunto, squaring their determinations by the natural rules of justice and goodness, rather than by the letter of the law.

The forensic notion of moderation applied to moderation in religion.

5. The reason why I first make gentleness or meekness a part of the definition of this (ἐπιείκεια) moderation is, because of the derivation of the word; and because those who are presumed best to understand the sense of words, as Phavorinus,[1] Hesychius,[2] Suidas,[3] and the Glossary,[4] and others, do unanimously interpret what we render moderation, and such words as have cognation with the same, by those other expressions of gentleness, meekness, and a mild disposition to yield to those we have to do with. But especially they aim to express in its signification, such a calm and quiet temper as is not ruffled with passion; a temper of mind not only exceedingly requisite in a judge, but also pre-required to that benignity and kindness which we have said this (ἐπιείκεια) moderation doth include, rough and angry minds being not likely to consult the ease of those that are to be judged by them.

Secondly, There is the like evidence from the same authorities[5] for including benignity and kindness in the definition

[1] Ἐπιείκὴς, παρὰ τὸ εἴκειν, τὸ ὑποχωρειν. Phavorin. Lex. Gr. Ven. 1712.

[2] Ἐπιεικέα. τὸν ἐγχωροῦντα, ἐπίεικτα, ὑποχωρητά.
Ἐπεοικός. προσηνές. ἔυγνωμον. μέτριον. ἐυφυές. σπουδαῖον. πρᾷον. ἀγαθόν. Hesychii Lex. Lugd. Bat. 1746.

[3] Ἐπιεικὴς. πρᾶος, μέτριος.
ἐπιεικεστατη. παρὰ Ἡροδοτῳ, μετρία, ἐυγνώμων, καλῶς ἔχουσα. Suidas, Cantab. 1705.

[4] Ἐπιεικεια, Glossario: mansuetudo, clementia, modestia. Gro.

[5] Ἐπιεικῶς—τὸ παρ' ἐλπίδα, μετὰ ἐπιεικείας καὶ χρηστότητος. Phavor. Lex. Gr. Ven. 1712.

of (ἐπιείκεια) moderation, which is much according to Aristotle's mind,[1] and the Latins also generally render the same by *æquum* and *bonum*;[2] and indeed this goodness and kindness properly belong to the account of this moderation, because of those benign effects which we have affirmed it disposeth men to, which are next to be considered.

For the better understanding whereof we are to remember, that though (ἐπιείκεια) moderation may, in a more general sense, extend to other things which may stand in need of correction, yet in the forensic sense wherein we take it, it refers only to the laws, and is defined by Aristotle[3] to be the correction of the laws wherein because of their universality they are deficient. From whence, as it must be supposed, to be confined to those to whom the administration of the laws is committed, who alone can have the power of correcting them: so nothing therefore will be further requisite to show, than that it disposeth them, where the laws press too hard upon particular persons, to relax the rigour of them; as on the other side, where they do not sufficiently provide for them, to supply their defect.

All laws we know are for the punishment of evil doers, or for the praise of them that do well; but it being impossible so to provide for the punishment of evil doers, as not sometimes to bring even the innocent within the compass of it; because what, generally considered, ought to be looked upon and censured as evil, may yet upon sundry considerations and circumstances have nothing of evil in it, or at least be worthy of pardon; either the innocent must suffer together with the nocent, (which so benign a virtue as that we treat of cannot allow,) or it must dispose those to whom the administration of the laws is committed to remit of their rigour in such particulars, and exempt them from the undergoing of it. It being

[1] Ὥσε καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἐπαινοῦντες μεταφέρομεν, ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ τὸ ἐπιεικέστερον, ὅτι βέλτιον, δηλοῦντες. Arist. Nicom. lib. v. c. 10. Oxon. 1716.

[2] Et Salomon ait: 'Noli justus esse nimium;' debet, &c. Ambros. Par. 1690, tom. ii. De Penitent. lib. i. cap. i. sec. 2.

[3] Ἐπανόρθωμα νόμου ᾗ ἐλλειπει διὰ τοῦ καθόλου. Arist. Eth. l. v. c. 10. Oxon. 1716.

Πέπεισμαι γὰρ αὐτον ἐπιεικῶς καὶ φιλανθράπως παρακολουθοῦντα τῇ ἐμῇ προαιρέσει συμπεριενεχθήσεσθαι ὑμῖν. 2 Macc. ix. 27. V. Test. Sept. Oxon. 1817, t. vi.

in like manner impossible for laws so to provide for the encouragement of those who deserve well, as that sometimes such may not be passed over neglected; partly because all cases cannot be seen by the lawgiver, and partly by reason of the shortness of his expressions; either some who may deserve encouragement may be excluded from partaking of it,[1] (which so benign a virtue as we speak of cannot easily permit), or it must dispose those to whom the administration of the laws is committed to ampliate their favours, and to take such within the compass of them.

Only whereas the excess and defect of laws in these particulars,[2] cannot be supposed to be corrected by such measures of justice and goodness as are not of a certain and fixed nature; so there being no such measures, beside the natural rules of justice and goodness, the same (ἐπιείκεια) moderation must consequently be thought to prompt them, to whom it belongs, to govern their determinations by these rules, in order to the attaining its benign and equitable designs. And indeed the true love of the common good doth properly lead to this benignity which tempers justice:[3] wherefore equity and moderation is the public honesty of the laws, without which justice often would be turned into wormwood. It contains the excellent spirit (διάνοια) the mind and reason of the law, and is the most sacred and venerable part of it: as it is the honour and perfection of the law,[4] so it is the sanctuary of such as happen to be oppressed by the rigour of the letter.

I have insisted somewhat long upon this notion of (ἐπιείκεια) moderation, as because it is the primary one, and the standard of all the rest; so because it will help us to discover what is the true notion of it in religion, which is that we are most especially to enquire into. Taking it in the strictest sense,

[1] Et scriptum legis angustum est, interpretatio diffusa est. M. Annæi Senecæ Controv. lib. iv. 27. Amst. 1632, p. 754.

[2] Jus finitum est propter circumscripta mandata, at bonitas sive æquitas est veluti fons perpetuo scatens et perennis. Tract. de legib. l. ii. c. 6.

[3] Æquitas est benignitas juris. Est rationabilis modus sive temperamentum recedens ex causa a communibus regulis juris. Bartol. l. i. F. de legibus.

[4] Quid enim aliud est restituere in integrum, (ut ex multis unum videamus,) quam laxare scripti juris rigorem? Calvini Joan. (Kahl.) Lexicon. Jurid. Genev. 1622, p. 49.

so it can have no other meaning when applied unto religion, than such a meek and benign temper as may dispose those to whom the administration of it is committed, to relax the rigour of the laws where they press too hard in particular cases; or secondly, to supply the defects of those laws where they provide not sufficiently for them.

What is justly expected of those who causelessly blame our Church with want of moderation.

6. But as those who would blame our Church for the want of this (ἐπιείκεια) moderation, ought first of all to show that there are such rigours, or defects in her laws as to particular persons, and then that they are not considered; so, if they cannot do this, they must acknowledge that which they would blame in the Church to belong to themselves. Such ought to evidence their charge from the natural principles of justice and goodness; or at least by those which Christianity hath taught us; these, and these alone, being the measures by which this (ἐπιείκεια) moderation is to proceed, and therefore to be satisfied of the other by.

Moderation considered not only as a virtue of public, but of private, persons; both toward their governors first, and also toward one another.

7. But because words do not alway continue in their strict and proper sense, but extend also to such senses as hold analogy with the other; and because, too, it is certain that the Scriptures make use of this very word in other significations, as their making it the duty of private as well as public persons doth sufficiently demonstrate; therefore it must be granted that there are other sorts of (ἐπιείκεια) moderation required beside that before mentioned, but which must be judged of by the analogy they hold with it; yea, with the whole definition of it; for otherwise they may not only not deserve the name, but may have nothing commendable in them; for even lenity and benignity (how excellent soever in themselves) may become evil, when employed where severity ought to be used. Wherefore, that we be not condemned in what we seem to approve, it will be requisite that we have that notion in our eye which is the standard of all the rest, I mean (ἐπιείκεια) moderation truly so called; which may be considered as a virtue in private, or in public persons; as in private persons again with reference to public persons, (and particularly the governors of the Church,) or with reference to one another.

If we consider the (ἐπιείκεια) moderation of private persons to public persons, so it will be found to consist in the judging of the laws of their superiors by the rules of justice and charity; and particularly by that charity, the properties
1 Cor. xiii. whereof are described by St. Paul. For if that be a charity which is due from one to another, even to the meanest members of Christ's body, how much more to the governors thereof! For as Cicero[1] truly saith, "There are often injuries done by a too crafty and malicious interpretation of the law, which is a dishonour and reproach to government, and is most removed from *(bona fides)* fair and equal behaviour." Some, by their own ill tempers, make the laws appear to them more rigorous than they are; others, by their weakness and fear and scrupulousness, cannot fully satisfy their own thoughts with that real benignity which the laws do exhibit, *(non æqui et boni consulentes)*, not taking them in good part, but interpreting almost every thing to the worst sense;[2] torment themselves by their own scrupulous and superstitious humour. Both these extremes the wise man seems to refer to in his double admonition, "Be not righteous over much, neither make thyself over wise; why shouldest thou destroy thyself,
Eccles. vii. 16 or why shouldest thou be desolate?"—as it were, by thy own rigour and scrupulousness, deprive thyself of the great benefits of society?

If we consider the (ἐπιείκεια) moderation of private persons toward one another, so it will be found to consist in judging of one another's actions by the same equitable and charitable measures; and is often taken for such actions themselves as are joined with gentleness, benignity, and goodwill: such as are forgiving personal wrongs; bearing with the infirmities of those we have to do with; interpreting doubtful things fairly; determining our liberty in a real indifferent matter with compliance and condescension to others; accommodating ourselves and our matters, according to the possibility and necessity of our neighbours; governing those

[1] Existunt etiam injuriæ sæpe calumnia quadam et nimis callida, sed malitiosa juris interpretatione. Cic. de Off. lib. i. cap. xi. Hæusing. Oxon. 1816.

[2] Ὁ μὴ ἀκριβοδίκαιός ἐστι τὸ χεῖρον, ἀλλ' ἐλαττωτικὸς, καίπερ ἔχων τὸν νόμον βοηθὸν ἐπιεικὴς ἐστι. Arist. Eth. l. v. cap. 10. Oxon. 1716.

impressions of self-love which are in us all, by such considerations and ends as rational nature hath sometimes a more principal regard to, viz., the greater good of our neighbour, the ends of peace, and our superior relation to God. The instances of this (ἐπιείκεια) moderation are shown also in one man's requiring less of another than in right he might exact,[1] or in granting more than of right could be required, which is using, as we say, a conscience; wherefore equity is called not only the religion of the judge, but the piety of a good man, the equitable man being esteemed in the same breath a good man. So the good and gentle are by St. Peter joined in opposition to the froward;[2] and the Apostle's injunctions comprehend not only whatsoever things are just, but whatsoever things are lovely; and such being true moderation, it is but the proper effect of that wisdom which comes down from above, which is pure and peaceable and gentle:[3] which disposeth private persons one toward another to remit what is rigorous, and to supply all defects they may by kindness, courtesy, and benignity. 1 Pet. ii. 18.

Some general rules or measures according to natural justice and Christianity, whereby we judge of the moderation of the Church; with the design of this Treatise declared.

8. The (ἐπιείκεια) moderation of public persons consists either in the equitable and benign administration of laws (spoken of before:) or, in the framing of such laws as are in themselves equitable and benign. Now whether the laws of this or any other Church be such, is to be judged by comparing them with the natural rules of justice and goodness, but more particularly with such rules as our Christianity doth offer for the direction of our judgments.

Some of those rules which natural justice, and Christian prudence may direct us to, are such as these.

Benignity is not to exclude justice: the rules of which therefore are to be considered in this (ἐπιείκεια) moderation, as well as those of the other.

[1] Dummodo non se acerbum exactorem præbeat sed moderatum, et cum efficacia benignum et cum instantia humanum. Ulpian.

[2] τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς καὶ ἐπιεικέσιν. 1 Pet. ii. 18.

Ὅσα προσφιλῆ. quæcunque ad alendam concordiam accommoda. (Phil. iv. 8.) Erasm. Lugd. Bat. 1706. t. vii. col. 1002.

[3] ἡ δὲ ἄνωθεν σοφία πρῶτον μὲν ἁγνή ἐστιν, ἔπειτα εἰρηνική, ἐπιεικής. Jam. iii. 17.

In those laws which respect ecclesiastical polity, and particularly the administration of the public assemblies, there is to be considered a justice to God, as well as to one another; because it is his worship and service which is to be celebrated.

The justice which we owe to God cannot be satisfied, nor his honour consulted, unless all things be done decently and in order, because God is the God of order and not of confusion.

That all things be done decently and in order, some certain rules are to be prescribed, within such bounds and for such ends as there is general direction given; without which rules, order among a multitude can never be preserved.

Against which rules so prescribed, no such exception can reasonably be allowed or considered, which tends alike to the overthrow of all.

It is fit the governors of every particular Church should consider the same in its relation to the Church Universal, of which it is a part; and in their particular society, benignity to one sort of men ought not to exclude the consideration of others, especially the major part.

Benignity is to be shewed to the humble and peaceable, but it can in no wise be challenged by the proud and froward: especially who are manifestly prepared to make ill use of the benignity of the Church, as much as possible to the ruin of the Church, and their own and others' greater mischief.

True benignity aims more at the real profiting any person whatsoever, than the gratifying their humours and sickly fancies. These and the like rules seem to be the proper measures of (ἐπιείκεια) moderation where they are observed: and that these and such other rules as are comprehended in the nature of true moderation, are wisely and faithfully observed by our Church; the design of this treatise is by variety of proper proofs and instances to make evident: and that it may the more certainly appear, I shall for the most part compare this moderation of our Church with the extremes of popery and enthusiasm.

CHAPTER II.

OF THE FALSE NOTIONS OF MODERATION WHICH MANY HAVE TAKEN UP.

How it comes to pass that the name of moderation is so seldom applied to what it ought to be.

1. THE reason why this word moderation is so seldom applied in its most proper and useful sense, by them that make most noise about it, is because the licentious humour and wanton appetites of those who affect novelty in religion, are (through the liberty they have had) become more and more insatiable; like the horseleech, they are ever crying, Give, give; and the more moderation is used, the more their cries are renewed; and to make their demands more plausible, moderation is called by the authority of St. Paul, "Let your moderation be known unto all men: the Lord is at hand."[1]

The sense of that text inquired into, "Let your moderation be known unto all."

2. The continual claim for moderation being so often repeated in those words of the Apostle: since they are so exceedingly misunderstood by some, or obstinately misapplied by others; it may be judged very fit to render the true sense of the words as evident as may be, before we proceed. Those who consider the context may find the blessed Apostle exhorting the Philippians, and in their name all that should be persecuted in the glorious cause of Christianity; that they would endure their trials at least with all patience and equanimity; and if it might be, that they would rejoice in the midst of their suffering condition: "Rejoice in the Lord always, and again I say, Rejoice. Let your moderation be known unto all:" as if the Apostle had said,[2] O ye

Phil. iv. 4, 5.

[1] [τὸ ἐπιεικὲς ὑμῶν γνωσθήτω πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις. Phil. iv. 5. ED.]

[2] Has ob res gaudete semper, etiam in mediis afflictionibus. Iterum atque iterum jubeo vos læto esse animo, quantumvis sæviat in vos improborum iniquitas, tamen vestra æquitas, vestraque moderatio nota sit et spectata cunctis mortalibus, non solum fratribus, verum etiam alienis a Christo, quo citius vestra bonitate provocati, pelliciantur ad evangelii consortium. Lenitas enim morum conciliat ac frangit etiam impios. Ne velitis illos ulcisci, neve illis suas delicias invideatis. Instat enim adventus Christi, qui et vobis pro spretis hujus mundi commodis largietur immortalitatem, et illi suæ dementiæ pœnas luent. Erasm. Paraph. in Phil. cap. iv. t. vii. col. 1001. Lugd. Bat. 1706.

Christians, in the midst of your afflictions I exhort you again and again to rejoice in God, because of the double need thereof in your suffering condition, and that you would maintain a present and an upright mind; although the iniquity of your persecutors is immoderate against you, yet let your moderation and patience be known unto all men, not only your brethren and fellow-sufferers, for their encouragement and support, but even to the adversaries and opposers;[1] that by your goodness and even temper, they may be won over and reconciled to the Christian Religion they now persecute: I would not have you bear any revengeful mind, nor envy them their prosperity, for the coming of the Lord is at hand, who can and who will in due time execute his justice on the enemies of his Church, and deliver his people as he pleases, or reward their patience abundantly: for in the third and fourth verses, St. Paul solemnly mentions his fellow-sufferers with honour, and according to a right apostolick care of them, "I intreat thee, true yoke-fellow, help those women which laboured with me in the Gospel, with Clement also, and with other my fellow-labourers whose names are in the book of life:"[2] where by fellow-labourers certainly are meant his fellow-sufferers, which only could be understood by those women who suffered with him in the

Phil. iv. 3.

[1] See Erasmus' Paraphrase commended in the Injunctions of King Edward VI. 1547; of Queen Elizabeth, 1559, sect. 6. Ordered to be had in every church; and by all the clergy under B.D.

["Also that every Parsone, Vicar, Curate, Chauntery priest, and stipendiary, being under the degree of batchelar of divinitie, shall provide and have of his owne, within three monethes after this visitacion, the Newe Testamente, bothe in Latyne and in Englishe, with Paraphrasis upon the same of Erasmus, and diligently study the same, conferring the one with the other. And, the bishoppes, and other ordinaries by themselfes or their officers, in their Synodes and Visitacions, shall examine the said ecclesiastical persones, howe they have profited in the study of holie Scripture." Injunccions of Edw. the sixte, cap. xx. Oxf. 1816.

"The Injunctions given by King Edward, at his first coming to the crown, were all renewed, with very little variation." Burnet's Hist. Ref. (Eliz. 1559) vol. ii. Oxf. 1816. Ed.]

[2] Ἐπεὶ οὖν δικὸς ἀυτοὺς πρὸς τοὺς πονηροὺς ἀπεχθως διακεῖσθαι, παραινεῖ τοίνυν ἀυτοῖς μηδὲν ἔχειν πρὸς ἐκείνους κοινὸν ἀλλὰ μετὰ πολλῆς ἀυτοῖς κεχρῆσθαι ἐπιεικείας, οὐ μὴν τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς καὶ τοῖς ἐναντίοις. Chrysost. in Phil. cap. iv. hom. xiv. Par. 1734. t. xi. p. 305.

Gospel (*συνήθλησαν*[1]) who for the faith strove together and contended with himself through sundry difficulties and sufferings: whom in the sixth verse, he further continues his speech to: "Be careful for nothing, but in every thing by prayer and supplication, with thanksgiving, let your requests be made known unto God; and the peace of God shall keep your heart," &c. And when the blessed Apostle wrote this consolatory epistle to the Philippians, St. Paul was "not only in bonds in defence and confirmation of the Gospel," but unto them of Philippi also, "was this grace given, in the behalf of Christ, not only to believe in him, but also to suffer for his sake."

Phil. iv. 6, 7.

Chap. i. 7.

Chap. i. 29.

3. Thus it is evident that this exhortation of St. Paul here to moderation, is indeed directed by him absolutely to the patient and suffering sort of Christians. Which let those take notice of especially who affect so much to be counted the suffering party, which if they are who call themselves so, then the Apostle speaks more to them than any, "Let your moderation be known unto all."[2] But it is the cause only makes the martyr. Some may suffer indeed justly as a due reward of their deeds (through their own ill will): others according to the will of God, when they have done nothing amiss: and this I take to be the real case of the Church of England. Wherefore we seriously wish they would present themselves real examples of the thing itself who make so much noise of

They who esteem themselves sufferers should show the moderation.

1 Pet. iv. 16, 19.

Luke xxiii. 41.

[1] Rogo eis opitulare quæ mecum certaverint in evangelio, fœminas nempe quæ unà cum beato Paulo passæ essent afflictiones. Erasmi Paraphr.

[These words are not found either in the Paraphrase or Annotations of Erasmus; though the idea of suffering (or struggle) is even more fully dwelt upon in the following words of the Paraphrase than in Puller's quotation: "Ut istis mulieribus adsis quæ participes fuere laborum ac periculorum meorum in Evangelio." Paraphrase in iv. Phil. Lugd. Bat. 1706, tom. vii. ED.]

"Mecum laboraverunt *συνήθλησάν μοι*, id est simul mecum decertarunt." Annot. in N. T. Lugd. Bat. 1705, tom. vi.

[2] Of this, perhaps they may be better satisfied from Mr. Pool's Synopsis Criticorum. "De afflictionibus hic agitur. *Ἐπιεικὲς* proprie est moderatio summi juris per æquitatem, cui opponitur *ἀκριβοδίκαιον*. Hic autem latius patet, estque moderatio animi atque affectuum, qua dura quæque patienter ferimus; nam hic de afflictionibus agitur. Zanc. Vorst. Er. Baz." Poli Synops. Lond. 1676, tom. v. col. 881.

the word. We may heartily wish, they who seem so earnest for moderation, would consider whether it seems not agreeable to that equal temper of mind recommended in the text, for all to be disposed to interpret every thing to the best, and to go as far as they can for peace and unity in the Church, and compliance with what is enjoined. I wish such would please to consider and read the words in their true sense: with any of those versions which are given of them. Let your equity:[1] your gentleness:[2] your patient mind:[3] your taking all in good part:[4] your reasonable conversation:[5] your modesty;[6] your giving way one to another:[7] your moderation be known unto all.

4. That we may the more clearly understand the moderation of our Church, we will further inquire into their false notion of moderation, who so vehemently seem to require it in our Church: which requiries are made either to private persons, or to those in authority.

(1.) When private persons are called upon to let their moderation be known unto all men; they (as faras they know their own minds themselves, and are not averse to declare it in their writings and other expressions of their meaning undeniable) by moderation would have; either an indifferency, whether they do or do not what is required: or they

[1] Æquitas vestra innotescat omnibus hominibus. Theod. Bez. in N. T. Cant. 1642.

[2] Et lenitas vestra nota fiat apud omnem hominem. Biblia Tremellii. Lond. 1593.

"Let your patient enduring of them," &c. (in marg. *gentleness)* Hammond's Paraph. Lond. 1689.

[3] "Let your patience and modest softness be known." Erasm. Paraph. (Eng.) Lond. 1549.

[4] Sed et *candorem* possis interpretari. Theod. Bez. in N. T. Cant. 1642, in Notis.

[5] Cum enim modestia eorum manifestata fuerit, id est, rationabilis conversatio, lucebunt opera eorum. Ambros. Comment. in Phil. tom. ii. col. 261, Par. 1690.

[6] Modestia vestra nota sit omnibus hominibus. Bibl. Lat. Vulg. 1624, t. ii. p. 828. Hieron. in Phil. ℣ Par. 1706, t. v. col. 1068.

[7] Cum non contenditur de summo jure, sed alius alii pro tempore cedit, et id sequitur quod postulat humanitas. Erasm. ad Phil. Lugd. Bat. 1705, t. vi. col. 876 (in notis).

mean an omission of what is appointed: or they understand by it the doing quite *contrary*.

When appeal for moderation is made to governors: by moderation they would understand, either a forbearance of the execution of laws (especially which relate to matters ecclesiastical); or an abolition of them; or an utter alteration of government. So that all the burden for moderation relates to the remission of the obligation and observance of the laws, especially of the Church; and their whole sense of moderation doth contain many odd suppositions, particularly that the conditions of our communion are very unlawful, very immoderate, and inexpedient. Wherefore, if in the following discourse we make it appear that the entire constitution of our Church doth exhibit as great moderation, and as equal temper, as any Church in the Christian world doth or ever did since the primitive times, we shall justify our constitutions from those exceptions mentioned, and a thousand times as many more as they can raise.

For supposing at present, which afterward I shall plainly demonstrate, that the conditions of our communion are not unlawful, and that the appointments of the Church as they are, and what relates thereunto, are very moderate; then it will plainly and necessarily follow,

That an indifference in doing or not doing what is required; or an omission of what is matter of duty; or doing quite contrary, must needs be so far from moderation, that it will appear to be a great affront to the authority of a well-settled kingdom and Church: and the more moderate this is, the higher will be the aggravation of their crime.

As to the forbearance of the execution of such laws, I shall only say thus much: that if for political considerations superiors should give way at any time to such a forbearance, it may not be unseasonable to consider, as among the Jews there were some things permitted or tolerated; not for their goodness, but because of the hardness of the hearts of the people; so when constitutions equal in themselves are remitted in consideration only of the weakness of the people, the people ought to be instructed of the reason they have to be humbled for their own imperfection, that they may not

glory in their shame, lest they go on to take heart against the laws, and accustom themselves to forwardness.

As to change, or abolition of laws, I only here touch upon what hereafter will be more amply shewed,—

That the moderation of our Church is such, that she always hath publicly professed, that the rites of the Church, and particular forms of worship, are in their own nature indifferent and mutable. And it is notorious matter of fact among us, that the Church hath often made those alterations which occasion hath required, and for the same reasons can do the like again.

As to an utter alteration of the government, which some there are would look at as a prime point of moderation, I should be very injurious to truth if I should not observe, that some who begin with but desires of moderation, never leave till they end in the utter subversion and extirpation of what they declare themselves averse from: which renders this undertaking more necessary. Thus King Charles I.[1] took notice of some Reformers, who by vulgar clamours and assistance, did demand not only toleration of themselves in their vanity, novelty, and confusion, but also abolition of laws against them, and a total extirpation of that government, whose rights they have a mind to invade.

Lastly: To take their words in the most mild sense, not for an absolute change of the entire government, but for such an alteration of the laws as seems to be meant by the word (ἐπιείκεια) moderation: as it is sometimes taken for a correction of the laws by equity.

Most known unto all it may be that the Church of England never refuseth this: but in cases of such mitigations and remissions as are called for, we must consider, there is generally supposed either an unjust sentence, or some rigour of the law; or some great inconvenience attending: all which the wisdom of government will not hastily and at every motion determine; especially when such alterations are challenged as matter of duty, and when they cannot be done without a public acknowledgment of some great error or sin before

[1] Εικ. Βασιλ. ii. p. 75. 1649.

admitted.[1] Wherefore such concessions are not properly admitted without great reasons moving thereunto, because of the public honour of laws in them concerned: lest also the frequent change of public laws encourage the mutable vulgar in their common unreasonable levity, and desire of innovation: lest well-settled order and the common peace be disturbed, and lest good men be discouraged in their regular obedience: therefore Christian (ἐπιείκεια) moderation doth not in such like cases encourage alterations, especially when there is no end of gratifying such sick fancies, and where it is not agreed between the parties complaining what they would have relieved.

This would be to expose the dignity of the Church, and of constitutions settled by such long prescription, to the scorn of every bold dissenter, which can have no other effect but to encourage them in their schism, and heap contempt upon ourselves, when we prostitute law and authority to such affronts. Unless our dissenters had the humility and the honesty to confess they had been mistaken, and were now resolved to go as far towards the repairing of breaches as their consciences could allow; and did propose a clear scheme of what they would submit to, and on what terms they would again enter into the communion of the Church; then I am confident such candid dealing would find an entertainment beyond what they can justly hope for.[2]

[1] See the Proclamation of King Edward VI., for the authorizing an Uniformity of Common Prayer.

"And yet thys notwithstandinge, a great nombre of People in diverse parts of this Realme followinge their owne sensualitye, and lyvinge either without knowledge or due feare of God, doe wilfullye and dampnablye before Almyghtie God abstayne and refuse to come to their Parishe Church, &c. &c. An Act for the Unyformytie of Comon Prayers." 5 and 6 Edw. VI. c. 1, vol. iv. p. 130. Stat. of Realm, 1819.

[2] Modest Survey of Naked Truth [by G. Burnet], p. 7. Lond. 1676.

CHAPTER III.

OF MODERATION WITH RESPECT TO THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

What is to be understood by the Church of England.

1. TREATING of the moderation of the Church of England, some will not be ashamed to ask what is meant by the Church of England.[1] It is pretty odd, that in a settled Church as ours is, such a question should be so confidently made as it is by some, who, while they ask it, may be members of it, if they please. But because this Treatise is so immediately concerned in this question, I shall make the answer more clear from all exceptions, if I come thereunto by some steps.

The Church in general is a select society; that is, of such as are called out of the world to the worship of God.[2] This society is either that invisible company of all the faithful throughout the world, who are inwardly and really holy, known unto God; or is the society of those who confess Christ before men, and by this visible profession of the true faith, have right to the sacraments and other privileges of their spiritual community; especially those which are a necessary and public sign before God and man, that such do confess Christ Jesus: for God, who is the alone searcher of hearts, hath left only this presumption for the rule of mortal men, that the visible profession of the faith should give right

[1] "3. That it being said (Art. 20), 'The Church hath power to decree rites or ceremonies, and authority in controversies of faith;' we may not inquire what is meant by the 'Church,' whether the Church 'Catholic,' or 'of England:' nor what the 'Church of England' is; what rites or ceremonies it may ordain; or how far her authority extendeth in controversies of faith." Reasons showing the Necessity of Reformation, p. 3. Lond. 1660.

[2] Εκκλησία, cœtus evocatorum. Ου γὰρ νῦν τὸν τόπον, ἀλλὰ τὸ ἄθροισμα τῶν ἐκλεκτων, Εκκλησίαν καλῶ. Clem. Alex. Stromat. Op. tom. ii. lib. vii. cap. 6, p. 846. Oxon. 1715.

to the outward privileges of the Church: without granting which, even the true members of the invisible Church could never communicate in any outward society; which all that call themselves Christians are obliged to do: and therefore the nineteenth article of our religion begins thus: The visible Church is a congregation of faithful people, &c. In every Art. xix. moderate constitution, as I show ours is, the rule obtains, every one is presumed to be good, till the contrary appears in a lawful manner: wherefore, that visible company of faithful people, who here under the dominion of our Sovereign Lord the King, call themselves Christians, and profess the faith of Christ, which he defends, (they) are the Church of England:[1] in which consideration, as the main body of the sea being one, yet within divers precincts hath divers names; so the Catholic Church is in like sort divided into a number of distinct societies; every of which is termed a Church within itself, &c. After the same manner were the several societies of Christian men, unto every of which the name of a Church is given, with addition betokening severalty, as the Church of Rome, Corinth, Ephesus, England, and so the rest must be endued with correspondent general properties belonging unto them, as they are public Christian societies.[2]

But to come to the head of the exception, which commonly is this. If the Church be a congregation of faithful people, as the article defines the visible Church; how comes the determination of the Convocation, the orders of the Bishops, to be looked upon as the appointments of the Church? which are also governed by the will of the King; what of all this is the Church of England?

In answer hereunto, let such take notice, that the people among us, do bear as great a part as they ought, in what is constituted in our Church; whether they will own it or no. For where the consent of the people is not actually required, it is either included in the laws of the land (by which they are governed) or in the will of the King; to whom, beside

[1] Hooker's Eccl. Pol. lib. iii. ch. i. sect. 14. Ox., 1836.

[2] Ea est autem ratio et conditio hujus unius ecclesiæ, ut et nomen Ecclesiæ et unitas se per omnes particulares Ecclesias diffundant, si modo unaquæque intra seipsam et cum universali adeoque cum omnibus ejus partibus servet catholicam unitatem. Forbesii Irenic. lib. ii. c. 20, p. 425. Aberdon. 1629.

his own power over the Church in his own kingdoms, which is very great; in many cases they have made over their right,[1] whatever it is, themselves: and frequently by their ecclesiastical governors, they also consent to what is constituted in the Church. For we must remember what our article expresseth, that the Church is a congregation of faithful people (as it there follows) according to God's ordinance: we must also remember, that the Church in its beginning did not form itself; neither did it ordain or appoint its own rulers: for Christ gave some apostles, pastors, teachers, yea, they had their power given them, somewhat before the Church was formed, to shew that they were not to depend upon the people for their power.

Eph. iv. 11. 1 Cor. xii. 28.

Matt. xxviii. 18, 19.

Whatever voluntary condescensions were made by the heads of the ecclesiastical communion in the tender beginnings of the Church, to oblige them more firmly in their Christian fellowships: yet all rights of administration of the spiritual power of the Church did always properly belong to the rulers of the Church, within their own limits. So St. Ignatius, Cyprian,[2] Hierom, and others of the Fathers, fitly call the Church a company united to their pastor: for the administration of the power of the Church cannot belong to the body of this society considered complexly, but to those officers in it, whose care and charge is to have a peculiar oversight and inspection over the Church, and to redress the disorders in it: wherefore the Church is not improperly expressed by the clergy, which may be justly counted the Church representative, that as St. Cyprian saith, every act of the Church may be governed by its rulers:[3] for when we speak of the Church

[1] Refertur ad universos quod publice fit per majorem partem. ff. de reg. ju. ad sect. refertur.

[2] Unde scire debes episcopum in ecclesia esse et ecclesiam in episcopo, et si quis cum episcopo non sit, in ecclesia non esse, et frustra sibi blandiri eos qui pacem cum sacerdotibus Dei non habentes obrepunt et latenter apud quosdam communicare se credunt, quando ecclesia, quæ catholica et una est, scissa non sit neque divisa, sed sit utique connexa, et cohærentium sibi invicem sacerdotum glutine copulata. Cyprian. Op. Ep. lxix. p. 123. Par., 1726.

[3] Inde per temporum et successionum vices episcoporum ordinatio et ecclesiæ ratio decurrit ut ecclesia, super episcopos constituatur, et omnis actus ecclesiæ per eosdem praepositos gubernetur. Cyprian. Ep. xxvii. p. 37.

By 'the Church,' it is certain I must first mean 'the Church Catholic, or all

making laws, we must mean the governing part of the Church.

In the form of Church Policy presented to the Parliament in Scotland, 1578, by Andrew Melvill, it was agreed, "that sometimes the Church was taken for them that exercise the spiritual function in particular congregations."[1] More certain it is, that the form of Christ's Church is that outward disposition and order of superior and inferior communicating mutually to the conservation of the whole body and the edification and increase of every member thereof. And in those things which concern the outward form and manner of government in a national Church; where the King is supreme, in all causes, and over all persons; many matters necessarily and properly belong to the disposition of the supreme power, the people exhibiting their consent by the King; upon these and the like good foundations, the "third canon declares the Church of England a true and apostolical Church: and the ninth canon declares the same, the Communion of Saints, as it is approved by the apostles' rules in the Church of England;" upon which account the authors of schism in the same canon are censured, and the 139th canon of the Church concerning the authority of national synods doth thus declare, "whosoever shall affirm that the sacred synod of this nation, in the name of Christ, and by the King's authority assembled, is not the true Church of England by representation, let him be excommunicated, and not restored till he repent and publicly revoke that wicked error."

Eph. iv. 15, 16. Col. ii. 19.

2. Having now explained what is meant by moderation, and what by the Church of England; we may more intelligibly proceed in justifying the moderation of the Church of England; of which some inartificial proofs may be premised. The first of which may be the confession and acknowledgments of our adversaries on both sides: yea, if the scattered concessions which have been made by our adversaries at sundry times and upon divers occasions, should be gathered

The moderation of our Church frequently confessed by her adversaries: sometime truly, sometime upon design; but most often our Church is reproached and opposed for her moderation by each sort of adversaries.

the governors of the Christian assemblies in the world.' Bp. Jer. Taylor, Duct. Dub. Lib. iii. c. 4, rule 2. Lond., 1839.

[1] Abp. Spotswood's Hist. Ch. of Scot. Lib. vi. p. 289 (Marg. 3). Lond. 1677.

together in a bundle; there is scarce any judgment, or practice, or constitution of our Church, but hath been acknowledged sometime by some or others of them, as reasonable and moderate.

Yea, there is scarce any extravagance among themselves, but hath been also confessed and decried by several of their own communion, so great is the force of truth upon the minds of men at some times, when they are in a free humour to disclose themselves; and it might make a very pleasant and useful collection, to have these well gathered and set together, particularly, they have in their lucid intervals acknowledged the moderation of our Church, sometime as really convinced thereof. "Notwithstanding" (saith one who left our communion[1]) "the English Church hath been more moderate and wary than publicly to pretend to such a private spirit, and by consequence hath left a latitude and liberty for them in her communion to renounce it, as most of the learned among them have done." Another of them speaks thus of the Church of England.[2] "I believe her moderation hath preserved what may one day yet much help to closing the breach betwixt us. We observe that she, and peradventure she alone, has preserved the face of a continued mission, and uninterrupted ordination. Then in doctrines, her moderation is great. In those of greatest concern, she hath expressed herself very warily. In discipline she preserves the government by Bishops. But above all we prize in her the aversion she has from fanaticism, and that wild error of the private spirit, with which it is impossible to deal; from this absurdity the Church of England desires to keep herself free. She holds indeed, that scripture is the rule of controversy; but she holds withal, that it is not of private interpretation. She is for Vincentius Lyrinensis, 'Quod ab omnibus, quod semper, quod ubique.' But I see with grief, that moderate counsels have been discountenanced on both sides."

[1] De Cressy's Exomolog., c. 9, p. 48. Par. 1647.

[The author, Hugh Paulin de Cressy, was Dean of Laghlin, in Ireland, and Prebendary of Windsor. He left the English for the Romish communion, and afterwards wrote the book here referred to, "Exomologesis; or a faithfull narration of the occasion and motives of the Conversion unto Catholique Unity of H. P. de C."—Ed.]

[2] Confer. betw. Two Protestants and a Papist, p. 6, 7, 8. 1673.

Others of the same denomination have appeared to acknowledge the moderation of our Church, but it is manifest they have done it upon design; using that acknowledgment only as an art, either to proselyte some uncertain ones of our communion, or else to divide us; thinking by their public owning our moderation, thereby to render us more odious to those of another immoderate extreme. Yet the generality of both extreme adversaries join together in reproaching us for this moderation; and by their immoderateness in so doing, do also justify the moderation of our Church.

Thus do the great bigots of the Church of Rome, and the rigid disciplinarians and other novelists, in their zeal count all merciful moderation lukewarmness.[1]

Wherefore these apply to us what the Spirit said to the angel of the Church of Laodicea,[2] "Because thou art lukewarm, and neither cold nor hot, I will spue thee out of my mouth:" reproaching commonly our moderation by the name of neutrality and want of zeal;[3] and when some temperate interpretations have been offered the Romanists,[4] they have Rev. iii. 16.

[1] [The entire passage is as follows:—"But some kind of zeal counts all merciful moderation lukewarmness, and had rather be cruel than counted cold; and is not seldom more greedy to kill the bear for his skin, than for any harm he hath done. The confiscation of men's estates being more beneficial than the charity of saving their lives or reforming their errors." Εικ. Βασιλ. med. xii. p. 72. Lond., 1727.—Ed.]

[2] "This I may say, that the Laodicean lukewarmness of reformation here, hath been matter of continued complaints to many of the godly in this kingdom; occasion of more schism and separation than ever was heard of in any other church, and of unspeakable grief and sorrow to other churches, which God did bless with greater purity of reformation." Alex. Henderson's Papers conc. Change of Ch. Gov. Lond., 1649.

Collegium ergo Laodicensium pastorum, erat quasi Senatus prudentum et moderatorum hominum in re religionis, quemadmodum hodie vulgo *tepidi* audiunt.

Antitypum, inquam, est tertia Reformata Ecclesia, nostra nimirum Anglicana. *Ibid.*, p. 101. Brightman T. in Apocal., cap. iii., p. 105. Francofurt. 1609.

[3] Cesset igitur Anglia Medietatem suam quæ mera quædam neutralitas est, sub titulo prudentiæ & moderationis palliare: audiat potius hortantem Christum Apoc. iii. 19. *Ferve et resipisce.* Parker. Rob. de Eccl. Pol. lib. i. c. 25.

[4] Neque enim (frater charissime) juramentum illud adeo licitum esse potuit, quod aliquo modo temperatum et modificatum offerebatur. Scis enim hujusmodi modificationes nihil aliud esse quam Satanæ dolos atque versutias, ut fides Catholica de Primatu sedis Apostolicæ, vel aperte, vel obscure, petatur. Bellarmin. Op. Ep. ad Archipresb. Angl. t. vii. col. 662. Col. Agr. 1617.

received them with invidious reflections, lest any of their company should be won over to us by the moderation of our Church. In the meanwhile none pursue the Church of England upon this account so much as the rigid and severe of either extreme; the hot heads among the Romanists with their anathemas, and the other zealots with their "curse ye, Meroz."

Whereas the learned men of other reformed Churches, have not only observed frequently, and admired the moderation of our constitution (as Dr. Durel, in his View of the Reformed Churches, hath plentifully instanced) but so far forth as they judge the same moderation found among themselves, they seem to mention it with a great joy,[1] and count the same worthy of imitation.[2]

From the joint opposition made against our Church by her adversaries on either hand, is taken the chief inartificial proof of her moderation.

3. Wherefore the most general and inartificial, but most plain proof of the moderation of our Church (such a proof as is sufficient to evince the whole inquiry) is the consideration of the condition of our Church among her adversaries; that is, as the 7th canon, 1640, hath it, "between the groundless suspicions of the weak, and the aspersions of the malicious;[3] between those addicted to their old customs, and the new-fangled who would innovate all things;" the Church of England hath been a patient sufferer.

And as the true religion hath always been tried by real persecution of its extreme adversaries, and thereby hath become more approved and more glorious; so by the wonderful Providence of God, this temper and constitution of the Church of England, hath had its essays in two very refining trials. 1. Immediately after the Reformation in its

[1] An vero trium istorum Regiminum non possit dari temperatura? pro augendo bono, et minuendo malo? Videtur posse, per Christi regulam: 'Hoc facite, illud ne omittite.' Et Apostolicam illam: 'Omnia probate: quod bonum est, retinete' Retinendo nimirum ex singulis istis Regiminibus quod exquisite bonum est, ut ex trino bono confiat Unum optimum. J. A. Comenii Ratio Discip. in Unit. Frat. Bohem. p. 145, § 66. Amsterd. 1660.

[2] Atque hinc commemorare libet ad exemplum, quanta sapientia quantoque *temperamento* compositæ fuerint eæ precationum formulæ publicæ quibus Ecclesiæ Gallicanæ et Genevensis utuntur. Amyrald. M. de Secess. ab. Eccl. Rom. p. 225. Salmur. 1647.

[3] Preface to the Liturgy conc. Cerem.

persecution from those of the Romish communion; and lately in its second trial, from other domestic adversaries: from both which sufficient proofs, the moderation of our Church may be known unto all. "'Tis a hard condition. The Church of England professeth the ancient Catholic faith, and yet the Romanist condemns her of novelty in her doctrine. She practiseth Church government as it hath been in use in all ages and all places where the Church of Christ hath taken any rooting, both in and ever since the apostles' times; and yet the separatist condemns her for anti-Christianism in her discipline. The plain truth is, she is betwixt these two factions as between two mill-stones: and it is very remarkable, that while both these press hard upon the Church of England, both of them cry out upon persecution; [like froward children, which scratch, and kick, and bite, and yet cry out all the while as if themselves were killed;"[1]] among whom she is placed as an humble representation of her blessed Saviour: for, as he was crucified amidst criminals, so the Church of England hath most constantly suffered betwixt such factions and sects of men, as have run into the utmost extremes, from the judgment and practices of the universal Church of Christ: such are the Romanists, and other sectaries and schismatics amongst us. Thus Manasseh vexed Ephraim, and Ephraim Manasseh, Isa. ix. 21. and both against Judah. Thus Herod and Pontius Pilate, otherwise at variance, became friends, to be but the worse enemies to our Saviour: thus both the Jews and Gentiles opposed the Christian religion: and afterward the later Jews and the Circumcellions joined against the Catholic Christians: and since Judaism and Gentilism have been overcome by the light of the gospel, the corruption of the Christian religion hath arisen from its own professors; which is the corruption of Christianity into Popery, and other sects amongst us: (for what is best in itself, is worse when corrupted:) and as the Christian religion is the perfection of other philosophies, so these corruptions of Christianity have in them much of the very dregs of Judaism and the worst imitation of Gentilism. And now how earnestly do the several factions from Rome, and the whole gang of sects among us, oppose our Church? whose wise moderation and excellent constitution do place her amidst

[1] Abp. Laud against Fisher, Ep. Dedic. Lond. 1686.

such extremes. Between the *(ignes fatui)* pretenders to new lights on one hand, and the *Boute-feus*, the mal-contented incendiaries on the other hand; between both these we must be served as the guests of Procrustes[1] were in his famous bed; the Romanists think us too short and deficient in most of our measures, and therefore they would needs have us stretched, if not upon the rack: the sectaries count us redundant in many superfluities, and would fain have us cut precisely according to their models: so their mutual testimony rightly applied, may thus far be accepted; that indeed we are guilty of neither extreme, but really do bear the test to be in the golden mean.

To this purpose, the excellent Hammond begins his Preface to his view of the Directory: "There is no surer evidence (and κριτήριον) by which to discern the great excellency of moderation in that book (of the Liturgy of the Church of England), and so the apportionateness of it to the end to which it was designed; than the experience of these so contrary fates which it hath constantly undergone betwixt the persecutors on both extreme parts; the assertors of the Papacy on the one side, and the Consistory on the other; the one accusing it of schism, the other of compliance: the one of departure from the Church of Rome, the other of remaining with it: like the poor Greek Church, our fellow martyr, devoured by the Turk for too much Christian profession, and damned by the Pope for too little; it being the dictate of natural reason in Aristotle, that the middle virtue is most infallibly known by this, that it is accused by either extreme as guilty of the other."

For as St. Gregory Nazianzen, in his third Oration of Peace,[2] saith: "Whosoever is peaceable and moderate doth suffer much of both the extremes, and either is despised or

[1] Καὶ μικρὸν προελθὼν, Δαμάστην ἐν Ἐρμίονι τὸν Προκρούστην, ἀναγκάσας ἀυτὸν ἀπισοῦν τοῖς κλιντῆρσιν, ὥσπερ τοὺς ξένους ἐκεῖνος. Plutarchi Theseus, tom. i. cap. ii. p. 21. Lipsiæ (Reiske), 1774.

[2] Ὅσον δ' εἰρηνικὸν τε καὶ μέσον ὑπ' ἀμφοτέρων πάσχει κακῶς, ἢ καταφρονούμενον ἢ καὶ πολεμούμενον. ὃν καὶ ἡμεῖς ὄντες σήμερον οἱ ταῦτα κατηγοροῦντες, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τὴν καθέδραν ταυτην δεξάμενοι τὴν ἐπίμαχον, καὶ ἐπιφθονον· θαυμαστον οὐδὲν, εἰ καὶ ὑπ' ἀμφοτέρων ἐκτριβειημεν, κ. τ. λ. Greg. Nazianz. Orat. XIV. Lut. Par. 1609, tom. i. p. 222 B.

resisted: of which sort while we are now, who blame what is amiss; we therefore are placed as in a seat of strife and envy; and no wonder if we are bruised in pieces between both." Neither is there any more certain argument of the equal and just constitution of the Church of England, than that the factions among us are so ready to join with the Romanists in the very same accusations.

It follows now, that we give more particular instances of the real moderation of the Church.

CHAPTER IV.

OF THE MODERATION OF OUR CHURCH IN RESPECT TO HER RULE OF FAITH.

In holding to her true and just measure, as is proved from her Articles and Canons, and other Monuments of the Church.

1. WHEREAS moderation hath its name and being from the equal measures observed by it: the first instance of the moderation of our Church is most properly to be taken from *the right rule and measure in religion* which this Church of ours constantly receives and holds close to: by which she is safely preserved from all undue extremes; having to herself the same rule and measure of her moderation which the universal Church of Christ in all ages hath had, such a rule as is beyond all exception, and is of undeniable authority, namely, the holy Scriptures; which are the same right and just measure by which she measures out to others, and desires to be measured by, herself, in whatever she receives and delivers out as matter of faith and required practice, in the necessary parts of religion, and the worship of God. Whereas (next to the extreme of them who have no religion nor no rule) the vanity and extravagance of those is very notorious, who set up themselves to be their own rule; which is done in the pretences of infallibility on one hand, and enthusiasm on the other: between that rock and this gulf, the moderation of our Church doth safely conduct its own judgment and practice, and all that follow her. In the sixth article of religion, see how our Church doth own the perfection of holy Scripture as a rule: "Holy Scripture containeth all things necessary to salvation; so that whatsoever is not read therein, nor may be proved thereby, is not required of any man that it should be believed as an article of faith, or be thought requisite or necessary to salvation:" and the reason why the Church of England doth require herself to be acknowledged of her own[1] as a true and apostolical Church, is because she

[1] Constitutions and Canons Ecclesiastical. 1603. Can. iii. "The Church of England, a True and Apostolical Church:" and Can. iv. "Impugners of the public worship of God, established in the Church of England, censured."

teacheth and maintains the doctrine of the Apostles; and in the fourth Canon, the Church censures all impugners of the worship of God, and whosoever shall affirm her form containeth any thing in it repugnant to the Scriptures.

In the thirty-sixth Canon, (Art. 2,) all who are to subscribe, are willingly and 'ex animo' to affirm, that the Book of Common Prayer, and of ordering Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, containeth in it nothing contrary to the word of God: and (Art. 3,) that he acknowledgeth all and every of the Thirty-nine Articles to be agreeable to the word of God. In the nineteenth Article of religion, the 'visible Church of Christ' is defined 'a congregation of faithful men, in the which the pure word of God is preached, and the Sacraments be duly administered according to Christ's ordinance.'

And in the ordering of Bishops and Priests, it is asked: 'Be you persuaded that the holy Scriptures contain sufficiently all doctrine required of necessity for eternal salvation through faith in Jesus Christ? And are you determined, with the said Scriptures to instruct the people committed to your charge; and to teach nothing (as required of necessity to eternal salvation) but that you shall be persuaded may be concluded and proved by the Scriptures?' The answer is, 'I am so persuaded, and have so determined, by God's grace.'

In the twentieth Article of religion, it is declared, 'It is not lawful for the Church to ordain any thing contrary to God's word written; neither to expound one place that it be repugnant to another.' From all which passages (and many more which might be repeated out of the monuments of our Church) it is evident, that as our Church is formed in her whole constitution, with an uniform respect to this rule, and hath framed her Articles, Liturgy, Homilies, and Orders thereby; so it doth require herself to be acknowledged in those, but in subordination to this rule and measure, as before and superior to itself: which doth manifest the exceptions of many of the separation to be very unreasonable, who seem to give such deference to the holy Scriptures, and at the same time renounce communion with the Church of England which doth so religiously hold to the sacred Scriptures; of which our Church, in union with the whole Church of God, is a sure

keeper, a faithful witness, a zealous defender, and a most sober interpreter.

In heravoiding the extremes of those who take away from the due perfection of holy Scripture, and of others who seem officiously to add thereunto.

2. The moderation of the Church of England further appears, in avoiding the extremes of those who take away from the true perfection of Scripture; and of others, who seem officiously to add thereunto. Of the first sort of those who detract from the true perfection of Scripture, are they who frame an additional canon of their own, as the Church of Rome doth; who declares that the apocryphal writings and traditions of men, are nothing inferior nor less canonical, than the sovereign dictates of God, as well for the confirmation of doctrinal points pertaining to faith, as for ordering of life and manners; and that both the one and the other ought to be embraced with the same affection of piety, and received with the like religious reverence,[1] not making any difference between them. Thus (as it is in the second part of the Homily of good works) "Christ reproved the laws and traditions of the Scribes and Pharisees, because they were set up so high, as though they had been equal with God's laws and above them. 'They worship me in vain, that teach for doctrines the commandments of men: for you leave the commandments of God to keep your own traditions.' Yet he meant not thereby to overthrow men's commandments; for he himself was obedient to the princes and their laws made for good order." On the other extreme, they of the separation among us are busy to attribute to the holy Scriptures such a perfection as God never intended them; namely, particularly to determine of all actions of mankind, and every matter of order and decency in religion. Between these two, see by how even a thread our Church divides the controversy; first asserting the real perfection of Scriptures as a rule to be as much as need to be, to be as great a perfection as God hath given it, in order to its end, namely to guide our belief and

[1] Orthodoxorum patrum exempla secuta (sc. Tridentina synodus) omnes libros tam veteris quam novi Testamenti, cum utriusque unus Deus sit auctor, necnon traditiones ipsas, tum ad fidem, tum ad mores pertinentes, tanquam vel ore tenus a Christo, vel a Spiritu sancto, dictatas, et continuâ successione in ecclesiâ Catholicâ conservatas, pari pietatis affectu ac reverentiâ suscipit ac veneratur. Concil. Trid. Sess. iv. Decret. de Canon. Script. Concil. (Labbe) Lut. Par. 1672. t. xiv. col. 746.

practice in things needful to salvation. "Besides the same, (namely, God's word written,) ought not the Church to enforce any thing to be believed for necessity of salvation:" and in the same article: "It is not lawful for the Church to ordain any thing contrary to God's word written:" yet the article begins thus: "The Church hath power to decree rites and ceremonies, and hath authority in controversies of faith." Wherein, according to an accurate moderation the Church doth behave itself, in attributing to the Holy Scriptures their just and full perfection. Art. xx.

On the other hand, our church doth thankfully accept of that Christian liberty which God hath left her; and, indeed, which he hath given all particular Christians according to their measures; namely, leave to determine their particular actions according to the general rule of holy Scriptures, and sometimes of prudence, where other laws are not given to determine their liberty.

And, indeed, this article of the sufficiency of the Scriptures, and the use of them as a rule, is the very dividing point, at which those of the separation, on either hand, leave our church and her moderation at once. For, those who are ready, on one hand, to receive all traditions which the Church of Rome can offer, with affection and reverence equal to the written word of God, so that (as it is in our homily) "the laws of Rome" as they said "were to be received of all men as the four Evangelists;" no moderation can contain the extravagancies such belief leads them to. On the other hand, to accept of no appointment for outward order and government in the Church or kingdom, but what is set out in the express word of God for the direction of every particular action, under pretence of defending Christian liberty, is verily so gross and unreasonable a pharisaical confining it, that this principle is the first sanctuary of ignorance and disobedience in most of our separatists; who, under an immoderate pretence to religion, and the honour of Scriptures, really offer great abuse and disservice to both. As it is a real abuse to a person, though of honour, to give him titles which do not belong to him, so it is an occasion to atheists and profane persons, captiously to detract from the true perfection of holy writings, when they find attributed to them such titles Homily of Good Works, 3rd part.

as are false and imaginary. "We must take heed," saith the judicious Hooker, "lest in attributing unto scripture more than it can have, the incredibility of that do cause even those things which indeed it hath most abundantly, to be less reverently esteemed."[1]

On this foundation of our church's moderation in what she judgeth concerning the perfection of holy Scripture, both the Protestant and the Christian religion is established; for, as Bishop Sanderson saith,[2] "The main article of the Protestant religion is, the holy Scriptures are a perfect rule of faith and manners; so the very mystery of Puritanism is, that no man may, with a safe conscience, do any thing for which there may not be produced either command or example in Scripture."

In her judgment of the letter and sense of Scripture, & in the use of such consequences, as are duly drawn from thence.

3. We are to note the moderation of the Church in her judgment of the letter and sense of holy Scripture, and in the use of such consequences as are duly drawn from thence.

Whereas the Romanists look on the letter of holy Scripture but as so many "dead" and "unsensed characters,"[3] of variable and uncertain signification.[4] They make the sense of Scripture entirely depend on the authority of their Church.[5] They presume the Church of Rome only can

[1] "And, as incredible praises given unto men do often abate and impair the credit of their deserved commendation; so, we must likewise take great heed," &c., &c. Hooker's Eccl. Pol. Bk. ii. c. 8, § 7. Oxf. 1841.

[2] "For answer hereunto, first, it is freely confessed, that the acknowledging of the holy Scriptures to be a perfect rule of faith and manners, is the main article of the Protestant religion, as opposed to the Romish." Pref. to Sermons, § xxi. Lond. 1657.

"By requiring to have some command or example of Scripture produced, to warrant to their consciences the use of the ceremonies, they offer occasion to consider of that point wherein the very mystery of Puritanism consisteth, viz., that no man," &c. Ibid. § xx.

[3] "To send us for our faith to living sense in the hearts of the faithful, not to mere dead letters in a book." Dialogues by W. Richworth, p. 127. Paris, 1648.

[4] Ecclesia igitur, sicut recipit scripturam, ita et interpretatur. Sequuntur igitur scripturæ ecclesiam quæ prior est, et propter quam scriptura, et non e converso. Nic. de Cusa, Ep. vii. ad Bohemos, p. 858. Basil. 1565.

[5] "Præterea, ad coercenda petulantia ingenia, decernit ut nemo suæ prudentiæ innixus, in rebus fidei et morum, ad ædificationem doctrinæ Christianæ per-

make authentic all the books of holy Scripture ;[1] and by her sole authority is to determine which are to be canonical. They will not allow the clear consequences of Scripture to prove any matter of doctrine.[2]

In these as in many other instances, our sectaries generally agree with the Romanists. They, also, make the holy Scripture "a dead letter" without their interpretation. In making the sense which they vouch to be the word of God. Such Scriptures as seem to serve their turn they allow: others they reject. The clear consequences from holy Scriptures against them they cast by, as only the results of carnal reason.

Between these two opposers of holy Scripture, at present, there appears this difference: instead of an external infallible interpreter on one side, the other sets up the witness of their own private spirit for an infallible interpreter also. When time serves, they that make the difference can compromise it.

Amidst these extremes observe we the wisdom and moderation of the Church of England. It gives all due honour to the letter of holy writ, referring herself and her sons chiefly to the originals ;[3] using all care in keeping the letter of holy Scripture; and preserving the originals, and setting them forth correctly, and translating them as faithfully as may be.

tinentium, sacram scripturam ad suos sensus contorquens, contra eum sensum quem tenuit, et tenet sancta Mater Ecclesia, cujus est judicare de vero sensu, et interpretatione scripturarum sanctarum, aut etiam contra unanimem consensum Patrum, ipsam Scripturam sacram interpretari audeat; etiam si hujusmodi interpretationes nullo unquam tempore in lucem edendæ forent." Concil. Trid. Sess. iv. Decret. de edit. et usu sacr. libb. p. 17. Rom. 1564.

[1] "Quod nullum capitulum nullusque liber canonicus habeatur absque illius auctoritate." Greg. VII. Dictat. xvii. in Concil. Rom. Conc. (Labbe) tom. x. col. iii.

[2] "And so they [the Scriptures] can never secure us from error, nor be a just ground to found our faith of any proposition, so proved, upon. Therefore, no proposition so proved can be acknowledged an article of faith." Conference, Apr. 3, 1676, by E. Stillingfleet, D.D., &c. (Discourse upon). Lond. 1676, p. 59.

[3] Book of Homilies, passim.

Cæterum in lectione D. Scripturarum si qua occurrerint ambigua vel obscura in Veteri Testamento, eorum interpretatio ex fonte Hebraicæ veritatis petatur: in Novo autem Græci codices consulantur.

Reform. Leg. Eccles. de summa Trinitat. et fid. Cathol., c. xii. fol. iv. Lond. 1571.

The sense of scripture, our Church accounteth chiefly as Scripture, viz., the word of God therein; the mind of God being thought by our church to consist not in words, but in sense. For, is the kingdom of God words and syllables?[1] The clear consequences in Scripture are in our church accounted a good proof in matters of doubtful doctrine. "Whatsoever is not read therein, *nor proved thereby*, is not to be required," saith our sixth article. Wherefore Mr. Chillingworth[2] did not without reason thus declare, "I profess sincerely, that I believe all those books of Scripture which the Church of England accounts canonical, to be the infallible Word of God: I believe all things evidently contained in them, or even probably deducible from them."[3]

In reference to the versions and translations of Holy Scripture, several instances of moderation in our Church.

4. In our church no one version nor more are made equal, much less superior, to the original: nothing is declared authentic but what is judged truly and originally so. Although the Church of Rome hath declared the vulgar translation to be only the authentic Scripture,[4] according to which all points in question are to be decided; and though the same in our church hath been convinced by sundry learned men of some imperfections; yet, wherein it is most faithfully performed, the innovations of Popery even from thence may be sufficiently manifested.

Other ancient versions and translations which have been of holy Scripture our church is so far from rejecting or undervaluing, that it hath made great use of them, and doth constantly acknowledge their usefulness; and doth esteem

[1] Translators of the Bible, Pref. Lond. 1704.

[2] Chillingworth's Pref. § 28.

[3] Simpliciter necessaria Rex appellat quæ vel expresse verbum Dei præcipit [credenda faciendave] vel ex verbo Dei *necessaria consequentia* vetus Ecclesia elicuit. (Is. Casauboni) Resp. Reg. ad Card. Perron, p. 31. Lond. 1612.

[4] Insuper eadem sacrosancta synodus considerans, non parum utilitatis accedere posse ecclesiæ Dei, si ex omnibus Latinis editionibus, quæ circumferuntur sacrorum librorum, quænam pro authentica habenda sit, innotescat; statuit et declarat, ut hæc ipsa vetus et vulgata editio, quæ longo tot sæculorum usu in ipsa ecclesia probata est in publicis lectionibus, disputationibus, prædicationibus et expositionibus, pro authentica habeatur, ut nemo illam rejicere quovis prætextu audeat vel præsumat. Concil. Trid. Sess. iv. Decr. (2) de edit. sac. libb. Conc. (Labbe) tom. xiv. col. 747.]

them according to their antiquity and the approbation they have had in the Church of God. Yea, in the worst of our late times, when the true Church of England was most of all accused of Popery and opposition to the Scriptures, then were sundry learned and religious sons of the Church diligently employed in defending and illustrating the holy Scriptures, in the admirable edition of their originals, and their most famous and approved versions; although our sacred Polyglot Bible hath no more escaped its prohibition at Rome,[1] than it did the feeble assaults of some others here at home.

Whereas the Church of Rome will not allow translations ordinarily to be made into the vulgar tongue,[2] unless in a particular policy to some extraordinary occasion; as when the Doway translation was admitted (as they tell us) because of the importunity of heretics. And when such translations are unwillingly made, they are not suffered without particular licence:[3] obtained under the hand of the bishop or inquisitor, by the advice of the confessor, which some call a prudential dispensing of Scripture.[4] Yea, such faculties of licensing

[1] Indice librorum prohibitorum Alexandri VII. Pontif. Max. jussu edito. Biblia Briani Waltoni Angli, cujus titulus, Biblia Sacra Polyglotta. Index Libb. prohib. Alex. VII. p. 14. Romæ, 1667.

[2] Non ignorat Rex, etiam inter vos reperiri Bibliorum versiones in linguas vulgares: sed docuerunt ejus majestatem Sacerdotes Angli, qui Duaci sacram paginam in sermonem Anglicum verterunt, ab invitis vobis esse expressas illas versiones, 'importunitate hæreticorum,' ut loquuntur Duacenses. (Is. Casaub.) ad Ep. Card. Perr. Respons. p. 63. Lond. 1612.

Si quis dixerit, Ecclesiæ Romanæ ritum, quo summissa voce pars canonis et verba consecrationis proferuntur damnandum esse, aut lingua tantum vulgari missam celebrari debere, aut aquam non miscendam esse vino in calice offerendo, eo quod sit contra Christi institutionem, anathema sit. Concil. Trid. Sess. xxii., Can. 9. Conc. (Labbe) tom. xiv. col. 856.

[3] Cum experimento manifestum sit, si sacra Biblia vulgari lingua passim sine discrimine permittantur, plus inde, ob hominum temeritatem, detrimenti quam utilitatis oriri, hac in parte judicio Episcopi, aut Inquisitoris stetur; ut cum consilio Parochi, vel Confessarii Bibliorum a Catholicis auctoribus versorum lectionem in vulgari lingua eis concedere possint, quos intellexerint ex hujusmodi lectione non damnum, sed fidei, atque pietatis argumentum capere posse: quam facultatem in scriptis habeant. Conc. Trid. Regul. Ind. Libb. prohib. fol. 7. Rom. 1564.

[4] V. Pref. to the Doway Bible. 1635.

sometimes in show of moderation, are granted to the bishops, as was done by Pope Pius IV.; but soon after they are recalled again very strictly, which was performed by Pope Clement VIII., and also by Pope Paul V., in a very smart breve, dated 1612. "So much are they afraid of the light of the Scripture, [(Lucifugæ Scripturarum, as Tertullian speaketh)] that they will not trust the people with it, no, not as it is set forth by their own sworn men; no, not with the license of their own bishops and inquisitors."[1]

The Church of England from time to time hath taken a just care to have the holy originals rendered into the common language, that all God's people may be enriched more and more in the knowledge of God; as Epiphanius tells us, the ancient Church had its ἑρμηνευτὰς, interpreters of the divine books: and therefore the translation of the holy Bible in English hath, by the command of authority, had its several reviews; and, its translation also into the Welsh or British language hath been ordered in the fifth year of Queen Elizabeth.

Whereas in the translation of the holy Bible, many have attempered their versions to their own private and particular sentiments, as is notoriously done in the English translations at Doway and Rhemes; and as Grotius[2] hath charged Beza, and Piscator, and others, for inclining their translations somewhat to their particular suppositions and opinions; and as King James at the Conference at Hampton Court noted the same of the Geneva version; the moderation of the Church of England hath been such, even beyond the care of all kind of elective philosophers, that she appears sincerely to have espoused the truth itself, "without any dowry"[3] of

[1] The Translators of the Engl. Bibl. to the Reader.

[2] Inter multa quæ fidei nocent hoc non est minimum, quod versionem quisque attemperat ad suas sententias, et sua cuique Deus fit dira cupido: hoc vero non est Idola facere? imo semet collocare in templo Dei. Aliud est annotare quæ quis vera putat ad explicationem sacri textus, aliud versione ad sensus detorta suorum dogmatum, suppositis verbis aliis quam quæ sunt in textu originario, quantum in te est, imponere lectoribus, præsertim linguarum imperitis, necessitatem tecum sentiendi, quod Beza et Piscator et quidam post eos nimis sæpe fecisse manifesto deprehenduntur. H. Grot. Animadv. in An. Rivet. tom. iii. p. 649. Lond. 1679.

[3] "Veritas sine dote." Herbert (Baro.) de Verit. Lond. 1633.

interest and affection to opinions. The more gross was the calumny of Gregory Martin to our translators of the Bible, "It is evident you regard neither Hebrew nor Greek, but only your heresy."[1] Whereas our church hath followed no particular versions, but wisely consulted the others then extant, which could come to the translators' hands, as they themselves testify and enumerate in the "Preface to the Bishops' Bible," the better to enable them to attain the true sense of the original; not making a second-hand translation, such as the Rhemish, which was but a translation of the vulgar; yet avoiding also, as the translators of our Bible themselves profess, "on one side the scrupulosity of the Puritans, who leave the old ecclesiastical words, and betake themselves to other, as when they put *washing* for *baptism*, and *congregation* instead of *Church*: as also, on the other side, we have shunned the obscurity of the Papists, in their azymes, tunike, holocausts, prepuce, and a number of such like;" yet such is the further modesty and moderation of our church, it doth not assume to herself to have perfected or made absolute her labour herein, but owns it such as may be made more consummate upon further light and experience.

In her orders also for dispensing the Holy Scriptures to all within her communion.

5. Between the extremes of those who, on one hand, keep the holy Scriptures from the vulgar, as doth the Church of Rome; and, on the other hand, those who account the Scriptures fit only for the vulgar, as many of our sectaries who think themselves already so perfect as to be above consulting the Word of God, as they call it, without them: the Church of England, according to an excellent moderation, commends unto all of her communion, even to the vulgar, a diligent hearing and reading the holy Scriptures,[2] as appears in sundry places of the Homilies, more particularly in the first Homily, which is "a fruitful exhortation to the reading and knowing of holy Scripture." "That man," saith the Homily, "is ashamed to be called a philosopher which readeth not the books of philosophy; and to be called a lawyer, an astronomer, or a physician, that is ignorant in the books of law,

Homil. i.

[1] Vid. "Discov. of Corruptions," cap. i. Rhemes, 1582.

[2] King Edward VI. Injunct. 1547. Queen Elizabeth's Injunc. 1559.

astronomy, and physic. How can any man, then, say that he professeth Christ and his religion, if he will not apply himself, as far forth as he can or may conveniently, to read and hear, and so to know, the books of Christ's gospel and doctrine?"[1] And though the people by daily hearing[2] of holy Scripture read in the church, should continually more and more increase in Christian knowledge; yet it is intended and required, that especially, "the clergy and God's ministers in the congregation, should by often reading and meditating on God's word, be stirred up to godliness themselves, and be more able to exhort others, and confute the adversaries of the truth;" as we observe from the "Preface concerning the service of the Church;" and at the beginning of the "second part of the Homilies," there is a particular admonition to all ministers ecclesiastical, that "they above all others do aptly, plainly, and distinctly, read the holy Scriptures."

In governing the reading of the Scripture, and communing on the same.

6. For the governing our reading of holy Scriptures; whereas before the Reformation, "the godly and decent order of the ancient fathers was broken[3] and neglected by planting in uncertain stories and legends," so that many books of the Bible were but begun and never read through; "now the order for prayer and for reading the holy Scripture is made agreeable to the mind and purpose of the old fathers, and a great deal more profitable and commodious.

It is more profitable because there are left out many things whereof some are untrue, some uncertain, some vain and superstitious; and nothing is ordained to be read, but the very pure word of God, the holy Scriptures, or that which is agreeable to the same; and that in such a language and order as is most easy and plain for the understanding, both of the readers and the hearers.

[1] Homil. i. Pt. ii.

[2] Collect for second Sund. in Adv.

Veteres enim cogebant unumquemque, ut libros sacros domi assidue legeret; qui nunc sub anathematis pœna vetantur attingi sine venia; adeo ut inter libros prohibitos primum locum libri sacri et a Deo profecti, horrendum dictu, teneant. (Is. Casauboni) Resp. Reg. Jac. ad Card. Perr. p. 63. Lond. 1612.

Severi homines centum circiter Bibliorum editiones prohibent et proscribunt. Bened. Turretinus, Genev. 1619.

[3] Pref. concerning the Service of the Church.

It is also more commodious both for the shortness thereof, and for the plainness of the order, and for that the rules be few and easy."

Since the Reformation, those who love not to be contained in any good bounds when they read the Bible, choose to do it out of all canonical order, or generally snap upon the chapters fortuitously; or affect for their most common reading the most difficult books and chapters. The wisdom of our church hath provided, that the Old Testament may be read out every year once: all the Psalms once every month:[1] and the New Testament thrice every year.[2] Yet with this moderation, some difficult and very mysterious places are excepted; yet so that the church declares, "Though the rehearsal of the genealogies and pedigrees of the fathers be not to much edification of the plain ignorant people; yet there is nothing so impertinently uttered in all the whole book of the Bible, but may serve to spiritual purpose in some respect, to all such as will bestow their labours to search out the meanings."

Thus manifest is it, that our church doth really intend edification in her institutions; and "can the wit of man[3] conceive a better temper and expedient, than" this of the Church of England, "that such scriptures only or principally should be laid before them all in daily offices, which contain in them all the mysteries of our redemption, and all the rules of good life"? That "the people of the church" may not "complain that the fountains of our Saviour" are "stopped from them; nor the rulers of the church, that the mysteriousness of scripture" is "abused."[4]

And further, to prevent the inconvenience of the vulgar's use of Scripture, there was a wholesome injunction of Queen

[1] Tale aliquid audio, saltem ex parte, esse nunc in Ecclesia Anglicana in qua Psalterium totum Davidicum singulis mensibus absolvitur, et totum utrumque Testamentum unico anno continuata lectione percurritur. Utinam reliquæ etiam Ecclesiæ reformatæ certam precandi formulam, juxta antiquitatis directionem, in publicis precibus adhiberent. M. Ant. de Dominis (Spalatens.) De Repub. Eccl. Lib. vii. c. 12, § 98. Francof. 1658.

[2] V. The Order how the holy Scripture is appointed to be read.

[3] Homily of "Information of certain places of Scripture." Pt. ii.

[4] Bp. Jer. Taylor's Pref. to Collect. of Offices, § 26. t. vii. Lond. 1828.

Elizabeth,[1] fit here to be mentioned: "That no man" should "talk or reason of the holy Scriptures rashly, or contentiously, nor maintain any false doctrine or error, but shall commune of the same when occasion is given, reverently, humbly, and in the fear of God, for his comfort and better understanding."

For as it is in the Homily against Contention,[2] "too many there be which upon the ale-benches, or other places, delight to set forth certain questions, not so much pertaining to edification as to vain-glory;—whence they fall to chiding and contention."

With reference to which injunction it was, that some bishops, in their articles of inquiry, had this for a question, Whether any were known in their diocese, who profaned the holy Scripture in table-talk: which was captiously misunderstood by many in their intemperate heats against the bishops; as if they thereby did forbid all sober conference on any places of holy Scripture: whereas the injunction of the Queen (which ought still to have effect) should reasonably interpret their inquiry, which certainly was the ground thereof.

Besides, many of those bishops themselves, when masters of colleges in the universities, observed, and caused to be observed, those statutes which in most colleges require reading of Scripture at meals; ordering, that communication which is thereon, to be such, as in the Queen's injunction was before mentioned.

In her judgment of the Canonical and Apocryphal Books.

7. Our church according to great wisdom hath received such books as "canonical, of whose authority there was never any doubt in the church;"[3] rejecting what truly are not of the canon, which the Church of Rome thrusts in of its own head; and doth not leave out any which are, as many have done in other times and places. In relation to those books

[1] Bp. Sparrow's Collection, 1684, p. 78.

[2] Part i.

[3] Artic. of Religion, vi.

Scio tamen Waldensem tenere quod authoritas declarandi et approbandi libros sacros sit in serie patrum omnium et fidelium ab Apostolis succedentium. Fr. S. Clara. ad Artic. Confess. Angl. 6.

whose title is The Apocrypha, the moderation of our church expresseth an excellent temper, in that, in their title, as of uncertain writings, they are distinguished from canonical: all the Apocryphal Books are not recommended to be read in the church: nor on all days, particularly not on the Lord's day, as such. Those our church "doth use" together with other canonical Scripture, as it plainly and publicly declares, in her sixth Article of Religion, and as St. Hierom saith,[1] "for example of life and instruction of manners;" (as Clemens Romanus to the Corinthians, and other such writings were read in the ancient Church;[2]) "but doth not apply them to establish any doctrine," as if they had such authority alone by themselves.

Our church indeed doth prefer them before any other ecclesiastical or private writings, because of the many excellent and sacred instructions in them; for which good and religious use, which may be made of them all, we do them the honour to bind them up with our Bibles, though we make them not of equal authority thereby, or of divine inspiration, as we do not also either the english metre of the Psalms, or the epistle of the Translators of the Bible.

The Divine Authority of the Holy Scripture, our Church rather doth take for

8. The divine authority of the holy Scriptures our church, according to great wisdom, doth rather take for granted than labour much to prove such an undoubted principle of religion; justly supposing there is no reason

[1] [Sicut Judith et Tobit et Machabæorum libros legit quidam Ecclesia, sed eos intra canonicas Scripturas non recipit; sic et hæc duo volumina (Sapientiam et Ecclesiasticum) legat ad ædificationem plebis, non ad auctoritatem ecclesiasticorum dogmatum confirmandam. Hieron. Præf. ad Libros Salom. iii. 25.

Postquam, auxiliante Deo, scripsi super libros sacræ Scripturæ canonicos,.... de ejusdem confisus auxilio super alios intendo scribere, qui non sunt de canone sc. lib. Sapientiæ, Ecclesiasticus, Judith, Tobias, et Libri Machabæorum, &c. Hi libri recepti sunt ab Ecclesia, ut ad morum informationem in ea legantur; tamen eorum auctoritas ad probandum ea quæ in contentionem veniunt minus idonea reputatur: ut dicit Hieron. in Prol. super Judith Lyr. ad Prol. Hieron. in Tob. Aug. t. ii. 1495.

Χρήσιμοι μέν εἰσι καὶ ὠφέλιμοι, ἀλλ' εἰς ἀριθμὸν ῥητῶν οὐκ ἀναφέρονται. Epiphan. in Ancyr. de Ponder., &c. t. ii. 162, § 4.]

[2] Hæc tamen scripta patrum in textu divinarum scripturarum non computantur, quemadmodum in veteri Testamento, (ut diximus,) quidam libri sunt, qui non scribuntur in canone, et tamen leguntur, ut Sapientia Salomonis et cæteri.

H. de S. Victor. de Scripturis. Op. Mogunt. 1617, tom. i. c. 6.

granted than prove too laboriously or uncertainly.

either to question that the church hath surely received those divine oracles, or surely delivered them: and therefore our sixth Article speaks of them as "of whose authority there was never any doubt in the church." Our church, justly thus supposing, immediately therefore applies herself in an exhortation to a diligent reading the holy Scriptures; and so long as those of her communion are by any just means convinced of their authority, our church according to a great moderation leaves it to the providence of God by what particular arguments, of the many which lie before us, we may come to this satisfaction; not causing the satisfaction of any to depend upon one sort of means to the neglect of another; because there are so many arguments which may sufficiently satisfy any of their authority; because some are convinced by some, others by others. We are encouraged in our church to receive the holy Scriptures as the word of God both from inward and outward motives, both of divine and moral consideration. But, for our great certainty and safety in a matter of so great concern, our church doth not lay the weight of so great a cause on slight or uncertain foundations, as the infallibility of the Church; much less, demonstration from the evidence of oral tradition; or the testimony only of the Divine Spirit, held by some so absolutely necessary to convince every one of the divine authority of Scriptures, that without such an inward testimony there can be no kind of certainty whatsoever. The moderation of our church excellently governs her judgment herein; neither refusing the just authority of God's true Church, nor denying any necessary influence of the holy Spirit of God: according to which moderation guiding ourselves, we shall have occasion elsewhere to justify the real certainty of our faith.

Homil. i.

Ch. vi. s.

In convincing, also, those of the authority of the holy Scripture who do deny the same, the wisdom and temper of our church prudently hath omitted a twofold medium, as improper to confute obstinate adversaries. The one is, of proving the divine authority of the Scriptures by scriptures themselves; which, though it be a sufficient proof among them who have received them as divine, yet to others it can never stop the objection from returning infinitely, if the objector please to be dissatisfied. The other method is,

alleging the testimony of the Spirit; for though the Church of God hath the holy Spirit, yet those that dispute this point may not have the Spirit; neither can any one's saying so be a proper argument to convince another. Thirdly, our church avoids the circle of proving the Scripture by the Church, and the Church by the Scriptures again, because our church doth first acknowledge the holy Scriptures as superior to itself, as one of the first principles of its doctrine, and against those who deny that principle of the holy Scripture's veracity, it doth dispute no otherwise than by reasons convincing the certainty of tradition. But as Archbishop Laud, in his preface against Fisher, takes notice, "While the one faction cries up the Church above the Scripture; and the other the Scripture to the neglect [and contempt of the Church, which the Scripture itself teaches men both to honour and obey; they have so far endangered the belief of the one, and the authority of the other, as that neither hath its due from a great part of man. Whereas] according to Christ's institution, the Scripture, where it is plain, should guide the Church; and the Church, where there is doubt or difficulty, should expound the Scripture.[1]

Articles of Religion, vi. and xx.

9. Whereas many run into very immoderate extravagancies concerning the interpretation of holy Scriptures, our Church contains itself within very wise and just proportions in its judgment and practice concerning this matter.

All immoderate extravagancies concerning interpretation of Holy Scripture, avoided by our Church.

Concerning holy Scripture, it doth own what the ancient fathers[2] have testified, That what is absolutely necessary unto salvation of all, either for knowledge or practice, is so fair and intelligible and to be understood of any, that there needs no interpreter of the meaning of the sense to them who understand the words.

For the understanding other places in holy Scripture which are more obscure, our church doth suppose and acknowledge

[1] Laud agt. Fisher. Ep. Dedic. Lond. 1686.

[2] [Πάντα σαφῆ καὶ ἐνθέατὰ παρὰ ταῖς θεαῖς γραφαῖς. πάντα τὰ ἀναγκαῖα δῆλα. Chrysost. in 2 Thess. Hom. iii. t. xi. p. 528. Op. Par. 1734.
Inclinavit ergo Scripturas Deus usque ad infantium et lactentium capacitatem. August. in Psalm. viii. t. iv. col. 41. Op. Par. 1681.]

plentiful means allowed of God, both to the Church, and by and in the Church to all particular persons, as much as is necessary that such places be understood; for those which are mysterious and intricate are for the curious and wise to inquire into. They are not the repositories of salvation, but instances of labour, and occasions of humility, and arguments of mutual forbearance, and an endearment of reverence and adoration; as the Archbishop of Spalato and our Bishop Taylor use to speak.

Such means for the interpretation of Scripture are the ordinary assistances of the holy Spirit of God; the instructions of the Church; the use of our reason; especially in comparing one scripture with another: which excellent means of finding out the sense of holy writ, our church herself doth often use, and recommends the same to those of her communion, according to the ancient practice of the Church. Yet if we speak properly, we do not call the Scripture the interpreter of itself, nor properly a judge of matter of faith,[1] though it be the rule according to which the judgment which is of doctrines is made; and in analogy with which, interpretations of Scripture also are to be governed. But because of the danger of the vulgar's being misled, our church doth send them frequently to their pastors and ministers, for public instruction, and private advice and counsel: and inferior ministers it refers to their Bishop.[2]

The same method our church directs for resolution of doubts which may arise referring to the Liturgy.

[3] "Forasmuch as nothing can be so plainly set forth but doubts may arise in the use and practice of the same; to appease all such diversity, (if any arise,) and for the resolution of all doubts concerning the manner how to understand, do, and execute the things contained in this book; the parties that so doubt or diversely take any thing, shall always resort to the bishop of the diocese, who by his discretion shall take order for the quieting and appeasing of the same. And if

[1] S. Scripturam judicem qui sentiunt, recte sentiunt, sed figurate loquuntur. Grot. de imp. summ. pot. cap. v. 6. tom. iii. p. 223. Lond. 1679.

[2] "And because it is requisite," &c. Exhort. to Holy Comm. Canon 53.

[3] Pref. conc. Service of the Church.

the bishop of the diocese be in doubt, then he may send for the resolution thereof to the Archbishop."

Our church doth not attribute more or less authority to the means of interpreting Scripture, or any part thereof, than God hath given it for that purpose: and here, the moderation of the church might be illustrated from the manifold extravagancies others have run into, in this matter, on all sides.

Some make the holy Spirit of God the only immediate interpreter of Scripture unto all persons whatsoever, that at any time understand any thing thereof: Others run into another extreme of slighting the illumination and assistance of the holy Spirit. Some assert the church of *Rome* only to have an infallible and absolute authority herein: others deny both the Church universal, and all parts thereof, all authority to teach those under her discipline, or interpret any scripture to them. Some have maintained, that the public magistrate is the only interpreter of Scripture: others deny him any kind of authority over or about the Church. There are those who make human reason the only interpreter of Scripture: others reject all use of reason in divine matters. Among these and many more extravagancies of men, the moderation of our church keeps, on one hand, from the tyranny of those who make such authorities the rule of interpreting Scripture, which never were so appointed; and, on the other, from the wild inordinancy of them who make their own private principle, whatsoever it be, the rule of scripture interpretation: among all, wisely making use of, and asserting and recommending, such means as are given for the conveyance, or interpretation, or both for the conveying and interpreting, of divine writ: something further of which will more distinctly appear in the next chapter.

CHAPTER V.

OF THE MODERATION OF THE CHURCH IN APPLYING THE RULE OF FAITH TO ITSELF.

Avoiding extremes on either hand, in relation to the authority of the Universal Church.

1. THE moderation of the Church of England appears very great in her due applying this rule of faith to herself; wisely and fitly making use of all those instruments which are most proper and useful in conveying to us that rule, or which are most subservient to the right understanding our rule, avoiding either extreme of those who attribute too much or too little to those instruments of conveyance and interpretation, such as the authority of the universal Church; the decrees of councils; the testimony of the fathers; other traditions; the witness of our own particular church; right reason alone; the testimony of the Spirit.

To all and every of these enumerated instruments either of certain conveyance or interpretation of scripture, our church gives their due place and esteem, according to their influence and use, and no more; which must needs demonstrate a great deal of wisdom and moderation in the judgment of the church.

Art. xx.

The universal Church itself is no where by the church of England made the rule of her faith, but a "witness and keeper of holy writ." Yet the judgment of the catholic church of Christ, was always by the church of England held in greatest veneration next unto the testimony of the Spirit of God himself; because of those famous promises made by Christ himself to the Church, which we read of in the new Testament. Yea, in the old Testament, the prophecies concerning the Messiah, and concerning the Church, and the ministers of the Church, always are joined together, as I have sometime heard a great prelate of our church teach us. And because whatever arguments we have for the truth of holy Scriptures, (as, thanks be to God, we have many

beside) yet also from the witness and keeping of the Church[1] we receive the holy Scriptures themselves; and in the sixth Article, "in the name of holy Scriptures, the Church doth understand those canonical books of the old and new Testament, of whose authority there was never any doubt in the Church." So that as the Archbishop of Spalato hath it, we have recourse to the Church, not as to an authoritative judge, but as to a treasure and repository,[2] in which the canonical books, and all things necessary to salvation, are preserved by faithful tradition. Wherefore the catholic Church itself is called not a judge nor a rule,[3] but more truly a witness and keeper of holy writ; and for interpretation of scripture, and for our help in judging of doctrines according to our rule, the church of England values, above all others, the judgment of the catholic Church, so far forth as we can attain the testimony of the catholic Church by such instruments as are approved and undoubted. For though,[4] "if by 'Catholic' you mean all particular churches in the world, then, though truth doth infallibly dwell amongst them, yet you can never go to school to them all to learn it, in such questions as are curious and unnecessary, and by which the salvation of souls is not promoted;" yet we know that, in the primitive time, the christian Church was in a less compass, and more undivided. Wherefore, if such matters, which are most essential to the being and well-being of the Church are both delivered from that time, and with their conveyance have

[1] Non quod ipsa ecclesia, vel traditio eos positive discernat:——si enim sit aliqua scriptura nondum nota, an sit canonica necne, eam nunquam ecclesia poterit pro canonica agnoscere, si vere non sit jam ei cognita pro vere canonica.

M. Ant. de Dominis (Spalatens.) De Rep. Eccl. Lib. vii. c. 1. § 19. p. 11. Francof. 1658.

[2] Hæc sunt quæ patres intra canonem concluserunt, ex quibus fidei nostræ assertiones constare voluerunt.

Ruffin. Expos. Symb. Art. ult. [Ed. ad calc. Cypriani. Col. 1617. p. 319.]

Hæc nobis a Patribus tradita opportunum visum est hoc in loco designare ad instructionem eorum qui prima sibi Ecclesiæ ac fidei elementa suscipiunt, ut sciant, ex quibus sibi fontibus verbi Dei haurienda sint pocula. Ib. p. 320.

[3] Credo Ecclesiam: credo Ecclesiæ: per Ecclesiam. Non dicimus credo in Ecclesiam, aut credo in Ecclesia. Ep. Eliens.

[Qu. Chaloner's "Credo Ecclesiam"? Vid. ed. 1638, pp. 15. 70. 221–3.]

[4] Second Dissuasive against Popery. Bp. Jer. Taylor, lib. i. § 1. vol. x. p. 347. Lond. 1828.

been approved by the Church in common ever since; if the Church may be a sure instrument of conveyance of the books of holy Scripture, why not also of such matters wherein all so well agree from the first, and do in no sort thwart the tradition of the holy Scripture itself? Wherefore in the Canon set forth in our Church, with the Articles of Religion, 1571, it is cautioned, "That nothing be at any time taught either to be held or believed upon the account of religion, but what is agreeable to the doctrine of the old and new Testament, which the catholic fathers and ancient bishops have gathered from thence:" which golden rule of our church I find twice extolled by the illustrious Grotius; once[1] in these words: "I cannot but commend that famous canon of the Church of England, that," &c. And again, in one of his epistles,[2] he takes occasion from this canon of the church to say, "he wonders any should deny, in England they attribute more to the ancient Church than they do in France." The form also of profession in the admission of Professors in Divinity in the University, because it doth very fully express the sense of the church of England, I repeat the tenor thereof.

"I from my heart do embrace and receive all the holy canonical Scripture, in the old and new Testament comprehended; and all those things which the true Church of Christ, holy and apostolic, subject to the word of God, and governed by the same, doth reject, I reject; whatsoever it holds, I hold."

Concerning the church of England, in this matter, hear we what the learned Casaubon hath declared in an epistle to Heinsius:[3] "This," saith he, "is my judgment, whereas

[1] Non possum non laudare præclarum Angliæ canonem Anni MDLXXI. 'Imprimis vero videbunt concionatores, ne quid unquam doceant pro concione, quod a populo religiose teneri et credi velint, nisi quod consentaneum sit doctrinæ Veteris aut Novi Testamenti; quodque ex illa ipsa doctrina Catholici Patres ac veteres episcopi collegerint.'

H. Grot. de Imp. summ. Potest. cap. vi. § 9. p. 231. tom. iv. Basil. 1732.

[2] Apologia Eccl. Anglicanæ. Accessimus vero ad illam Ecclesiam in qua—omnia caste et reverenter, et quantum nos assequi potuimus, proxime ad priscorum temporum rationem. § 118. Inde enim putavimus restaurationem petendam esse unde prima Religionis initia ducta essent. § 150.

[3] Est vero hæc mea sententia, quum una sit futura atque esse possit vetera Ecclesia, non temere recedendum esse ab iis dogmatibus fidei, quæ consensu

there will and can be but one true Church, we are not hastily to recede from those doctrines of faith which the consent of all the ancient catholic Church hath approved: and whereas I own no other foundation of true religion, than the holy and divine inspired Scriptures; with Melancthon and the church of England, I wish all doctrines of faith were brought to us, derived from the fountain of Scripture, by the channels of antiquity: otherwise what end will there be of innovation?" And thus our King James of happy memory did declare, in the words of St. Austin, "that what could be proved the Church held and observed from its first beginning to those times, that to reject he did not doubt to pronounce to be an insolent piece of madness." So that the counsel and judgment of the church of England seems to be moderated according to the sentence of St. Hierom, in his epistle to Minerius:[1] "My purpose is to read the ancients, to prove all, to hold fast what is good; and never to depart from the faith of the catholic Church." And conformably King Charles I.:[2] "my conclusion is, that albeit I never esteemed any authority equal to the Scriptures, yet I do think the unanimous consent of the fathers, and the universal practice of the primitive church, to be the best and most authentical interpreters of God's word:" for who can be presumed to understand the doctrine and practice of the Christian religion better than those who lived in the first and purest times? wherefore[3] Dr. Hammond reckons it among the *pie credibilia*, that a truly "general council cannot err."

omnium vetus Catholica ecclesia probarit; et quum basin veræ religionis præter S. Scripturam *τὴν θεόπνευστον* nullam agnoscam, opto cum Melancthone et ecclesia Anglicana, per canalem antiquitatis deduci ad nos dogmata fidei e fonte S. S. derivata. Alioquin qui futurus est novandi finis?

Is. Casauboni. Ep. Heinsio, 634. p. 809. Brunsv. 1656.

[1] Meum propositum est antiquos legere, probare singula, retinere quæ bona sunt, et a fide ecclesiæ catholicæ non recedere.

Hieron. Op. Basil. 1537. Epist. ad Minerium et Alex. t. iii. p. 196.

[2] Alex. Henderson conc. Ch. Gov. [His Maj. 5th Paper to.] Lond. 1649.

[3] That we do not believe that any general Council, truly such, ever did or shall err in any matter of faith; nor shall we farther dispute the authority, when we shall be duly satisfied of the universality, of any such.

H. Hammond, D.D., Disc. of Heresy, § xiv. 6. Lond. 1656.

The Decrees of Councils.

2. And because the catholic church is, and hath been so much divided, and the monuments of the ancient church universally accepted do contain but a few determinations, therefore the church of England moderately remits her sons to the first four general councils; as in the twenty-eighth year of King Henry VIII.[1] it was decreed, "that all ought and must utterly refuse and condemn all those opinions contrary to the said Articles, [which were of long time passed, condemned in the four holy councils,] that is to say, in the council of Nice, Constantinople, Ephesus, and Chalcedon; and all other since that time in any point consonant to the same."

So in the "Institution of a Christian man," set forth 1537, and approved by the Convocation 1543, it is there said, "A true Christian man ought and must condemn all those opinions contrary to the twelve articles of the Creed, which were of a long time passed condemned in the four holy councils," that is to say, &c.

Isaac Casaubon also, in the name of King James to Cardinal Perron, saith, [2]"the King and the church of England do admit the four first œcumenical councils:" and following the judgment of the Church, the law of the kingdom doth declare, [3]"that none, however commissioned, shall in anywise have authority or power to order or determine, or adjudge any matter or cause to be heresy, but only such as heretofore have been determined, ordered, or adjudged to be heresy, by the authority of the canonical Scriptures, or by the first four general councils, or any of them; or by any other

[1] T. Fuller. Ch. Hist. an. 1536. p. 216. Lond. 1655.

[2] Rex igitur et ecclesia Anglicana, quatuor prima concilia Œcumenica quum admittant, eo ipso satis declarant veræ ac legitimæ ecclesiæ tempus non includere se uno aut altero demum sæculo.

(Is. Casauboni.) Ad epist. Card. Perr. Respons. p. 40. Lond. 1612.

Quum regis jussu esset responsum, non posse ei titulum illum denegari, qui tria ecclesiæ Catholicæ symbola, Concilia quatuor Œcumenica prima agnosceret.

Ibid. p. 40.

[3] Dicimus Ecclesiam Britannicam adeo venerari Concilia generalia, ut speciali statuto caverit, ne quisquam spirituali jurisdictione præditus præsumat censuras suas Ecclesiasticas aliter distringere vel administrare, aut quicquam Hæreticum pronunciare quod non a scripturis Canonicis et quatuor Conciliis generalibus aut alio quocunque Concilio pro tali judicatum fuerit.

Isaacus Basire de Antiq. Eccl. Brit. libert. Thes. iv. Brugis, 1656.

general council, wherein the same was declared heresy by the express and plain words of the said canonical Scriptures; or such as hereafter shall be ordered, judged, or determined to be heresy by the court of Parliament of this realm, with the clergy in their Convocation." Thus the authority of the four first general councils are placed, by our church, in the superior order of tradition; forasmuch as Spalatensis, according to St. Austin,[1] speaks of such councils, they have obtained a wholesome authority, because from the apostolic declarations faithfully received, they have explained the holy Scriptures; and, beside, because they have been approved by the universal Church; which, with great reason, contradicts what Curcellæus[2] hath delivered to depreciate the honour, even of the first four œcumenical councils. So that Mr. Cressy,[3] in answer to Dr. Pierce, might very well cite the Protestant acknowledgments of the authority of councils; as that of Ridley, "Councils [do] indeed represent the universal Church, and being so gathered in the name of Christ, they have a promise of the gift and guiding of his Spirit into all truth." To the same purpose are named Bishop Bilson, Hooker, Potter, &c.: instead of all these he might have owned, if he had pleased, the judgment of our church itself, giving all due honour to general and provincial councils, whose wholesome decrees she hath accepted and imitated; yea, our church maintains the right of provincial Synods, taken away by the see of Rome.[4]

Fox's Acts and Mon. p. 1288.

[1] Illa autem quæ non scripta sed tradita custodimus, quæ quidem toto terrarum orbe observantur, dantur intelligi vel ab ipsis apostolis vel plenariis conciliis, quorum est in ecclesia saluberrima authoritas.

August. Ep. cxviii. t. ii. Basil. 1541.

[2] Quæ vero Œcumenica dicuntur, ex imperio tantum Romano, aut interdum forte ex vicinis quibusdam et fœderatis provinciis convocata fuerunt.

Steph. Curcellæi Rel. Christ. Instit. lib. i. c. 15. § 4. Amstel. 1675.

[[3] Therefore Dr. Bramhall, Lord Primate of Armagh, in the preface of his reply to the Bishop of Chalcedon, declaring that he submits himself to the representative Church, that is, to a free general Council, most rationally adds this clause, "or to so general as can be procured."

Cressy's Rom. Cath. Doct. No Novelties, p. 245. 1663.]

[4] Aguntur præter ea per Græcias illa certis in locis concilia ex universis Ecclesiis, per quæ et altiora quæque in commune tractantur, et ipsa repræsentatio totius nominis Christiani magna veneratione celebratur.

Tertull. de jejun. § xiii. p. 552. Lutet. Par. 1664.

Neither is this honour diminished by the further moderation which our church hath shown, in not taking those for councils, or general councils, which are not such, as neither the council of Florence, nor Lateran, nor of Trent: and we know that our Articles, though they are very moderately framed, are, many of them, directly opposed to those of Trent, being, in those points of doctrine wherein the church of Rome hath departed from the catholic Church, and made her doctrines, of design, more than truth, the unjust conditions of communion. "A truly free and general council we look upon as the best expedient on earth for composing the differences of the Christian world, if it might be had; but we cannot endure to be abused by mere names of titular patriarchs, but real servants and pensioners of the Pope's, with combinations of interested parties, instead of general councils;[1] [with the pleasures of Popes, instead of ancient canons.] When Pope Paul III. called a council, then to be held at Mantua, and King Henry VIII. refusing thither to send; he defended his protestation in a letter to the emperor and other Christian princes, 1538, in which the king declares:

"Truly as our forefathers invented nothing more holy than general Councils, used as they ought to be; so there is almost nothing that may do more hurt to the [commonwealth, to the] Christian faith and religion, than general councils, if they be abused to lucre, to gains, to the establishment of errors. And verily we suppose, that it ought not to be called a general council, where only those men are heard which are determined for ever in all points to defend the popish part, and to arm themselves to fight in the bishop of Rome's quarrel, though it were against God and his Scriptures. It is no general council, neither ought it to be called general, where the same men be only advocates and adversaries;" defending "his primacy, born by the ignorance of the world, nourished by the ambition of the bishops of Rome, defended by places of Scripture falsely understood."[2]

Neither, secondly, is our church's honour to general councils lessened, because she declares they are not infallible,

[1] E. Stillingfleet, D.D. Answ. to Treat. conc. Rom. Idol. p. 284. Lond. 1673.

[2] Fox's Acts and Monuments. Vol. ii. p. 438. Lond. 1641.

as in our twenty-first Article of Religion: "when they be gathered together, forasmuch as they be an assembly of men, whereof all be not governed with the Spirit and word of God, they may err, and sometimes have erred, even in things pertaining to God; wherefore things ordained by them as necessary to salvation have neither strength nor authority, unless it be declared, that they be taken out of holy Scripture."[1] Notwithstanding they are not infallible, yet for the establishing consent, King James may be presumed to declare the sense of our church of the use of such councils lawfully assembled. "Come," saith he,[2] "put it to the issue, allow a free general council, which may not depend upon the arbitrary will of one man, and the Church of England is prepared to give a reason of its faith: for even anciently it was a great complaint in the church, as the fond of all their mischiefs,[3] that controversies were not determined after the primitive rite and manner."

The testimony of the Fathers.

3. Concerning the testimony of the fathers, the church of England hath observed the same wise moderation in her judgment and use of them also, nowhere judging of them as unliable to error; according to the arguing of the twenty-first Article: because they are but "men," "and sometimes have erred in things pertaining to God," neither hath our church any where swallowed their errors through the veneration of their piety and antiquity: yet because of their proximity to the apostolic times, and the just authority in the Church, which for their learning and piety they have obtained, and all along hath been given them, our church in her monuments gives a great deference to their judgment, testimony, and practice. In the thirty-first canon: "Forasmuch as the ancient fathers of the Church, led by the

[1] Itaque legantur concilia quidem cum honore atque Christiana reverentia, sed interim ad scripturarum piam certam rectamque regulam examinentur.
Reform. leg. eccl. "De Conciliis," cap. xiv. Lond. 1571.

[2] Agite, periculum facite: Concilium liberum date, quodque ab unius voluntate non pendeat: parata est ecclesia Anglicana fidei suæ reddere rationem.
Casaub. ad Card. Per. Resp. p. 21. Lond. 1612.

[3] Τοῦτου οὐκ ἔστι μὴ καταλύειν τὰ ἀρχαῖα τῶν πατέρων ἤθη.
Nili Archiep. Thess. De Rom. Pontif. Francof. 1555.

example of the Apostles, appointed, &c., we following their holy and religious example, do constitute and decree." Canon xxxii.: "according to the judgment of the ancient fathers, and the practice of the primitive Church, we do ordain." Canon xxxiii.: "it hath been long since provided by many decrees of the ancient fathers, that, &c.: according to which examples, we do ordain." Canon lx.: "Forasmuch as it hath been a solemn, ancient, and laudable custom in the church of God, continued from the Apostles' times, that, &c.; we will and appoint."

So in the thirtieth canon, the lawful use of the cross in baptism is explained from the practice of the primitive times.[1] And in King. Edw. the Sixth's 'Proclamation' before the Common Prayer Book, the reason for our forms and rites is justified from the practice of the primitive Church;[2] and in the 'Preface concerning the service of the Church,' "Here you have an order for prayer and reading the holy Scripture, much agreeable to the mind and purpose of the old fathers:" and in many other places where they are named, and where they are not named, the footsteps of their ancient piety have very discernible impressions throughout the whole constitution of our church.

Wherefore, as it is in the reformation of the ecclesiastical laws of England, as was intended:[3] "let the authority and reverence be continued to the ancient and orthodox fathers, but such as may be subject to the determination, truth, and authority of the holy Scriptures." For always the ancient

[1 And this use of the sign of the Cross in baptism was held in the primitive Church, as well by the Greeks as the Latins, with one consent, and great applause. xxxth Canon. Eccl.]

[2 The Act for the Uniformity of Divine Service takes notice in the preamble, "That in drawing up an office for all the parts of divine service....the bishop and divines appointed .... were to have a regard to the direction of holy Scripture, and the usages of the primitive Church."
(Vid. Fuller's Church Hist. lib. vii. p. 388.) Collier's Eccl. Hist. vol. v. p. 306. Lond. 1840.]

[3 Postremo orthodoxorum patrum etiam authoritatem minime censemus esse contemnendam: sunt enim permulta ab illis præclare et utiliter dicta: ut tamen ex eorum sententia de sacris literis judicetur, non admittimus.
Ref. leg. eccl. "Patrum authoritas," c. xv.

fathers[1] themselves refused any other kind of honour or respect; frequently admonishing the reader, that he admit their opinions, or interpretations, but so far as he sees them agree with the holy writings. So that since Protestants are bound by canon to "follow the ancient fathers;" whosoever doth so with sincerity, it is utterly impossible he should be a Papist.[2]

And, indeed, the reverence of the church of England to the ancient fathers, as it is most regular and well governed, so it is most uniform and constant: whereas nothing is more ordinary with the Romanists, than when they are pressed and urged by the authority of the ancient fathers against them, to depreciate their testimonies, and add some scurvy false insinuations concerning them; as hath been often observed of C. Baronius, Bellarmine, Stapleton, and others: whereas the constant reverence of the church of England to the ancient fathers is such, that the Romanists cannot but acknowledge it very often, as De Cressy[3] saith, "Indeed the Protestants in England make honourable mention of the fathers. They profess greater reverence to antiquity than any other sect whatsoever."

Other Traditions.

4. There are many things of excellent use in themselves, which come to be suspected and reproached, because of the abuse they have had in the Roman church; of which, Tradition may be a great instance. Because the church of Rome hath made tradition equal, if not superior, to holy Scripture; therefore others run to the other extreme of undervaluing all kind of good and lawful tradition, not considering that holy Scripture is tradition recorded; and forgetting that in the church of God, one great proof of the integrity of the canon

[1] Neque enim quorumlibet disputationes quamvis Catholicorum et laudatorum hominum velut scripturas canonicas habere debemus, ut nobis non liceat salva honorificentia quæ illis debetur hominibus aliquid in eorum scriptis improbare [atque respuere, si forte invenerimus quod aliter senserint quam veritas habet, divino adjutorio vel ab aliis intellecta vel a nobis.] Talis ego sum in scriptis aliorum, tales volo esse intellectores meorum.

August. ad Fortunat. ep. 148. c. 4. ii. 502. Par. 1679.

[2] Chillingworth, Pref. § 25.

[3] H. P. de Cressy Exomolog. p. 102. 135. Par. 1647.

of holy Scripture itself, hath been always tradition, which these men so confidently despise. There are also some traditions not contrary to the holy Scripture, which, if they be rightly qualified, have and ought to have great authority with us: wherefore upon all occasions is celebrated among us that famous passage of Vincentius Lirinensis;[1] "Whatsoever is universally delivered, which every where, which always, which of all is believed, that is accounted as indubitable and certain."

"We receive not," saith Bishop Bramhall to M. Militiere, "your upstart [supposititious] traditions, nor unwritten fundamentals: but we admit genuine, universal, apostolical traditions.—And we are so far from believing, that [we cannot admit] tradition without allowing the papacy, that one of the principal motives why we rejected the papacy [as it is now established with universality of jurisdiction, by the institution of Christ, and superiority above œcumenical councils, and infallibility of judgment,] was the constant tradition of the primitive Church.

Ourchurch's own testimony.

5. Concerning our church's own testimony, her modesty and moderation hath been always exemplary. So far from assuming the title of Catholic to herself only, (as St. Austin tells us the Arians did, and since then the Romanists,)[2] that she hath counted it a sufficient honour to be an humble and, nevertheless for that, eminent member of the universal Church; and, with her, a witness and keeper of holy writ: and though she vindicates to herself an authority to interpret the holy Scripture within the bounds of her own discipline, for the edification of her own family, in truth and love, and also asserts to herself an "authority in controversies of faith, namely, for the avoiding diversities of opinions, and for the establishing consent touching true religion;" yet I cannot well omit to observe the wise modesty of our church

Art. xx.

[1] In ipsa idem catholica ecclesia magnopere curandum est, ut id teneamus, quod ubique, quod semper, quod ab omnibus creditum est.
Vincent. Lir. Commonit. cap. iii. Vratisl. 1839.

[2] Abp. Bramhall's Works, tom. i. disc. i. p. 35. Dublin, 1676.

[3] Aug. ep. 48. ad Vincen. t. ii. Basil. 1541.

in her asserting her own authority in "controversies of faith:" which expression, I may have leave to illustrate from such another instance of wisdom and moderation, in the recognition required to be made of the King's supremacy in our subscription, (according to the thirty-sixth canon,) and in our prayers, wherein we acknowledge him supreme governor of this realm, "in all causes," and "over all persons." It is not said, *over* all causes as "over all persons;" forasmuch as in some causes, Christian kings do not deny some spiritual power of God's church distinct from its temporal authority, which yet refers to the king, as their supreme keeper, moderator, and governor: even so the Church declares her "authority in controversies of faith:" not that the church of England, or any other church, no not the universal Church, hath power to make any thing which is in controversy matter of faith, which God hath not so made. The church owns that she hath no "power against the truth, but for the truth:" "neither may it expound one place of scripture, that it be repugnant to another:" but she hath power to declare her own sense in the controversy: and (that I may express my own meaning in better words than my own[1]) "to determine which part shall be received and professed for truth by her own members, and that, too, under ecclesiastical penalty and censure, which they accordingly are bound to submit to, not as an infallible verity, but as a probable truth; and rest in her determination, till it be made plain by as great [or a greater] authority, that this her determination is an error: or if they shall think it so [to be] by the weight of such reasons as are privately suggested to them, yet are they still obliged to silence and peace; (where the decision of a particular church is not against the doctrine of the universal;) not to profess in this case against the church's determination, because the professing of such a controverted truth is not necessary, but the preservation of the peace and unity of the church is. This is not to assert infallibility in the church, but authority." Wherefore Mr. Chillingworth[2] had very just reason to declare, "Whatsoever hath been held necessary to salvation, either by the

Art. xx. [2 Cor. xiii. 8.]

[1] Pref. of Bp. Sparrow's Collect. of Eccl. Records. Lond. 1675.

[2] Chillingworth, Pref. § 28.

catholic Church of all ages, or by the consent of fathers, measured by Vincentius Lirinensis his rule; or is held necessary, either by the catholic Church of this age, or by the consent of Protestants, or even by the church of England; that against the Socinians, and all others whatsoever, I do verily believe and embrace." Whereas the Pope and church of Rome do challenge to themselves an authority supreme over all causes and persons, by their infallibility, by which they exclude all others from their peace, and themselves from emendation. Neither are their followers much in the way thereunto, by what Card. Bellarmine doth assert of this supreme authority: "If the Pope," saith he,[1] "should err, in commanding any vices, or forbidding any virtues, the church is bound to believe those vices are good, and those virtues are evil, unless it would sin against conscience:"[2] however, in his Recognitions,[3] he minceth the matter in a distinction of doubtful and manifest vices and virtues. O blessed guides of souls! how did the illustrious Cardinal miss being canonized for that glorious sentence? and to help him for a miracle to qualify him for an apotheosis, why did not some cry out of it, So many words, so many miracles? Thus many of the Romanists make the Pope such a monarch in the church, as Mr. Hobbes doth his prince in the state.[4] "The interpretation of holy Scripture, the right of deter-

[1] Nam fides catholica docet, omnem virtutem esse bonam, omne vitium esse malum: si autem Papa erraret præcipiendo vitia, vel prohibendo virtutes, teneretur ecclesia credere vitia esse bona, et virtutes malas, nisi vellet contra conscientiam peccare.

Bellarm. de Rom. Pont. Op. Lut. Par. 1620. tom. i. col. 804.

[2] Nescis quid loquaris, siquidem in bono sensu, dedit Christus Petro potestatem faciendi de peccato non peccatum, et de non peccato peccatum.

De excus. Barcl. cap. xxxi. tom. vii. col. 961.

[3] Locuti sumus de actibus dubiis virtutum, aut vitiorum.

Recognit. Op. Card. Bell. p. 19. Ingolst. 1608.

[4] Neque ergo Monarcha ullis se pactis cuiquam ob receptum imperium obstringit: recipit enim imperium a populo; sed ut proximè supra ostensum est, populus statim atque id factum est, persona esse desinit; pereunte autem personâ, perit omnis ad personam obligatio.

Thom. Hobbes. de Cive. cap. vii. 12. Amst. 1647.

"Legislator autem semper is est, cujus est in civitate imperium summum, hoc est, in Monarchia Monarcha." Ibid. cap. xii. 1.

mining all controversies, to fix the rules of good and evil, just and unjust, honest and dishonest, doth depend on his authority, in the power of whom is the chief government:" but this doctrine is as bad philosophy as that of the Cardinal's is divinity. Among these excesses, let us not forget the moderation of our church, which holds, she may revise what hath slipped from her: wherefore, in her nineteenth Article she declares: "As the church of Jerusalem, Alexandria, and Antioch, have erred, so also the church of Rome hath erred;" (a charge agreeable to the moderation of our church, considering what might have been further said;) which by the same proportions of reason she supposeth true of herself, and of all others, viz., that they are fallible and may err.

The use of reason. Ch. 6. § 9, 10.

6. Of the use of reason, with reference to divine matters, there may be elsewhere occasions in this treatise to discourse. Yet here it is to be observed, our church doth not make its own reason a rule of faith, nor the sole interpreter of scripture, much less the reason of private men: yet because mankind hath no reasonable expectation of miracles, especially when ordinary means are sufficient and abounding; and because the holy Spirit of God in the testimony of his church, hath all along certainly conveyed to us the sense of many places; beside, that what is most needful to be heeded is very plain; our church doth allow and suppose rational men's perceiving the sense of scripture by the due use of their understanding: which practice must also necessarily engage such to a high regard of what was anciently received in the catholic Church. For as nothing is held among us more agreeable to reason than our religion, so in expounding our religion, and in interpreting scripture, our church makes use of the best and the truest reasons; as is manifest in what she declares and enjoins; and encourageth also those other helps which are any ways useful to the better understanding the sense of holy Scripture; as namely, the knowledge of tongues, arts, and sciences, and whatever else may improve the industry and sincerity of the inquirer. Because, as our Homily saith,[1]

[1] Hom. of Com. Pr. and Sacraments.

"no man cometh to the knowledge of tongues, otherwise than by diligent and earnest study:" and elsewhere,[1] "the church taking notice, how the worshipping of images came in times of ignorance, negligence, and barbarity, laments the wastes made on learning, by the Goths, and Vandals, and Huns, they burning libraries, so that learning and true religion went to rack, and decayed incredibly." Wherefore the church of England hath been always a bountiful and careful cherisher and patron of our famous Universities, as they have been and are most dutiful and zealous observers of the church.

And because our church governs itself according to such just measures in the interpretation and exposition of scripture, we see she doth neither practise nor encourage the turning of holy Scripture into cabalas and allegory, as too many have precariously and groundlessly done, according to the humour of their own imaginations; our church observing that moderation which St. Austin commends,[2] when he blames some for one extreme, that will allow no type or signification in things done and recorded; and others who contend, all things in scripture recorded have their allegorical interpretation, even the doctrines of catholic faith: which, in his epistle to Vincentius, he calls a grievous piece of impudence to hold: yet as Erasmus, in his Ecclesiastes, adds,[3] "it is not fit to doubt of such types and allegories which canonical scripture have revealed to us."

The testimony of the Spirit.

7. Though the moderation of the church shows itself in that it doth not vain-gloriously boast of the Spirit, yet it may well consist with her excellent modesty to believe of

[1] Hom. of the Peril of Idolatry, 2nd Part.

[2] Mihi autem sicut multum videntur errare, qui nullas res gestas in eo genere literarum aliquid aliud præter id quod eo modo gestæ sunt significare arbitrantur; ita multum audere, qui prorsus ibi omnia significationibus allegoricis involuta esse contendunt."

August de Civ. Dei, lib. xvii. c. 3. tom. v. col. 941. Bas. 1542.

[3] Proinde non est fas de typis et allegoriis dubitare, quarum involucra nobis aperint Scriptura canonica.

Erasm. Eccles. Op. Lugd. Bat. 1704. tom. v. lib. iii. col. 1045.

Pius quidem sensus, sed nunquam parabolæ et dubia ænigmatum intelligentia potest ad auctoritatem dogmatum proficere.

Hieron. in Matth. xiii. Op. Basil. 1537. t. ix. c. 57.

herself, that in the interpretation of holy Scripture, she hath such an assistance of the Spirit of God as is promised to the Church in general, the church of England being a true part thereof, subject to and governed by the word of God: upon which account in 139th canon, it requires, "that the sacred synod of this nation, in the name of Christ, and by the King's authority assembled, be acknowledged the true church of England by representation:" and it may be presumed, that where the lawful representative of the Church is gathered together rightly, the assistance of God's Spirit is not wanting: wherefore it argues immoderate presumption in them who receive with impious scorn our confession of our undoubted hope, that the church of England hath the testimony of the Spirit of God in her interpretation of scripture; and yet these depravers of the scripture[1] shall, with glorious assurance, affirm to themselves and their complices, the wonderful illapses and impulses of the divine Spirit, when at the same time they contradict the holy Catholic Church[2] and themselves; and when, also, many pretenders to a double portion of the Spirit have acted as the eldest sons of Belial. Whereas, indeed, the testimony of the Spirit, in the hearts of the faithful themselves, for the interpreting holy Scripture, and determining doubtful matters, hath been more often urged than understood: yea, if we could suppose it was not a precarious assertion, to be sure it is an improper method to convince gainsayers, yet to those who are out of communion with the church, it must needs be a most uncertain and insufficient testimony.

8. Many we know there have been and are, who pretend to such extraordinary gifts of the holy Spirit, as were peculiar to the first ages of the church: thus doth the Church

Of the testimony and operation of the Holy Spirit; the judgment of

[1] Qui ingenium suum faciunt ecclesiæ sacramenta. S. Hier. Ep. 9.

[2] Neque tantum mihi tribuo, ut, etiamsi quid mihi prima specie blandiatur, id defendere velim contra consensum antiquitatis, et Spiritum qui Ecclesiæ corpus continet; quod si mecum etiam in rebus aliis caveat D. Rivetus et alii, jam spiritus ille privatus, Spiritus, inquam, ecclesiæ divisor perdet fascini sui efficaciam. Grotius in Animadv. Riv. Art. i. p. 639. t. iii. Amst. 1679.

our church according to great moderation, more largely declared.

of Rome (as did the Donatists of old) make such miraculous testimonies the necessary sign of a true church. And somewhat like both these, are the enthusiasts of our late age, who would make the privileges of the holy Spirit, special and singular to their enclosures; affirming a particular inspiration of the Spirit absolutely necessary, to convey into our minds the sense and interpretation of holy Scripture; to assure all Christians of the certainty of their salvation; to furnish them with words and petitions in prayer; to convince any of the authority of holy Scriptures, and the certainty of faith. Our church declares,[1] "It is not the duty and part of any Christian, under pretence of the holy Ghost, to bring in his own dreams and phantasies into the church;" for such "blaspheme and belie the holy Ghost;" whereas, "the proper office of the holy Ghost is not to institute and bring in new ordinances, contrary to his doctrine before taught;" the doing of which the Homily declares, "is the sign of a false church, and of such as are deceivers."

It is to be acknowledged, that the discourses concerning the operation and testimony of the Spirit are liable to many difficulties; but "the principal conclusions which are rightly made in this matter, I suppose may be truly made out to be the sense of our church declared in her own words." 1. "For interpretation of holy Scripture," the reason why our church holds such extraordinary illumination not necessary, is, because [2]"all things necessary for our salvation are plain to understand," that is, as the Homilies deliver, to such as use the "means," and so far as their explicit knowledge is required. For our church doth speak of the illumination of the Spirit and interpretation of scripture, as generally joined with the use of means: "when any apply their minds to the study of the scripture, to hear, read, and search, thus God openeth the dark things of scripture unto faithful people. It cannot be, saith St. Chrysostom, that such should be left without help." When our Homily mentions the holy Ghost "inspiring the true meaning" of the scrip-

[1] Homily for Whitsunday, 2nd Part.

[2] 2nd Homily of Scripture.

ture, it adds, "to them that with humility and diligence do search therefore;" which clause is not to be left out (as it is by the author of "the Scripture's Genuine Interpreter," p. 5,) "Those that thus thankfully, cheerfully, and diligently hear, read, meditate, and ruminate on holy Scripture, such have the sweet juice, spiritual effect, taste, comfort, and consolation of them;" which doctrine of our church is most intelligible and sober, and different from what some others mystically have discoursed of concerning spiritual gusts, which they attribute to accountable communications.

The ordinary means to which the interpretation of scripture is generally annexed, our church judgeth the same which Dr. Hammond mentions in his postscript[1] concerning divine illuminations: study, search, meditation, the collation of places of scripture, (or bringing one place together with another,) the use of reason, and learning, and skill in original languages; the help of our spiritual guides; the declarations of God's church; the analogy of received doctrine; constant prayer for God's blessing; the necessary assistance and gracious aids of God's Spirit. Hom. of Holy Scriptures.

Our church indeed teacheth us, that carnal reason is an enemy to God, and to perceiving the things of the Spirit: which carnal reason, "some do expound the wisdom, some the sensuality, some the affection, some the desire of the flesh." But our church esteems it a great reproach to human nature, and the creation of God, to call that carnal reason, which is our rational perception and use of what is delivered us to understand; or a comparing, and as we said out of the Homily, a bringing together one place with another, and drawing easy and plain consequences from scriptures, which we are to search: whereas the scriptures are propounded to the reasons of men; and the belief of them is an act of the greatest reason that can be. Indeed, in the things revealed, when any thing exceeds the comprehension of our reason, our church adviseth us "to sequester our Article ix.

[1] The understanding of the word of God contained in the scripture is no work of extraordinary illumination, but must be attained by the same means, or the like, by which other writings of men are expounded, and not otherwise.

Works of H. Hammond, D.D. Lond. 1671. "Postscript," &c. § 26.

reason." In such cases, saith the Homily,[1] "reason must give place to God's holy Spirit."

From the doctrine of our church, it is also very plain, "that no more supernatural and immediate operation of the holy Spirit is necessary to the interpretation of the scriptures than what is necessary to make us faithful and good Christians:" wherefore our church lays down the same means for improvement in divine knowledge, as it doth for obtaining the holy Spirit; namely, [2]"the love of God and godliness, the having a care of being drowned in worldly vanities: leaving sin and the world; our forsaking the corrupt judgment of fleshly men." [3]"Let us endeavour ourselves" (saith our church) "diligently to keep the presence of the holy Spirit; let us renounce all uncleanness, for he is the Spirit of purity; let us avoid all hypocrisy, for this holy Spirit will flee from that which is feigned: cast we off all malice and all evil-will, for this Spirit will never enter into an evil-willing soul; let us cast away all the whole lump of sin that standeth about us, for he will never dwell in that body that is subdued to sin: if we do our endeavour, we shall never need to fear; and the holy Spirit will suggest to us what is wholesome, and confirm us in all things."

To attain also the spiritual wisdom of the scriptures, "Our way," saith the church, "is to attend the time, and win the time with diligence, and apply ourselves to the light and grace which is offered us." "Lastly, let us meekly call upon that bountiful Spirit, the holy Ghost, which proceedeth from our Father of mercy, and from our mediator Christ. That he would assist us and inspire us with his presence, that in him we may be able to hear the goodness of God declared unto us, to our salvation: for this cannot be obtained but by the direction of the Spirit of God, and therefore it is called spiritual wisdom."

Our church doth not judge that the particular immediate testimony of God's Spirit is necessary to every Christian

[1] Hom. of Places of Script., 2nd Part.

[2] 1st and 2nd Hom. of Scripture.

[3] 3rd Pt. of Hom. for Rogation Week.

for his comfortable assurance of salvation; but supposeth that the best assurance of salvation is from the sure trust and belief of God's promises; and a certain consciousness of our own sincerity, according to what is required of us. [1]"If you would be sure of your faith, try it by your living; the true Christian faith is no dead, vain, or unfruitful thing. Therefore let us by such virtues as spring out of faith, shew our election to be sure and stable."

Our church doth not judge an immediate gift of the Spirit necessary to every Christian, "to furnish them with words in prayer;" but doth rightly suppose, that the holy Spirit doth effectually assist every sincere devout person using a good form of prayer; because He by whom the Spirit is given to the church did teach his disciples, and in them all Christians, a form of prayer, requiring them to use the same. Our church also hath furnished those of her communion with general prayers, according to their occasions; judging also that such "common prayers are most available before God."[2] And the means of obtaining the holy Spirit to be most assisting us in our prayers, our church declares, is for us "to humble ourselves in his sight, and in all our prayers, both public and private, to have our minds fully fixed on him;" so that our church supposeth those that are thus humble to pray by the Spirit.

How far the testimony of the holy Spirit is necessary to convince us of the certainty of our faith, and of the authority of holy Scriptures, see chap. vi. § 8.

From which few passages already cited in comparison of those very many to the same purpose, which abound in the Homilies for Whit-sunday; the Homily of Good Works; of Salvation; of Falling from God; of Alms-deeds; it is most evident, that our church judgeth rightly concerning the holy Spirit of God; and lays down the best rules for discerning who have the holy Spirit; for according to the doctrine of our church, believing and obeying the gospel, and having the Spirit, are all one. [3]"For how can a man have true

[1] Hom. of Salvation. V. Hom. of Alms-deeds, 2nd Pt. V. Hom. Falling from God, 1st Pt.

[2] Hom. of Prayer.

[3] Hom. of Salvation, 3rd Pt.

faith, when he liveth ungodly, and denieth Christ with his deeds; contrariwise, he is most inspired with the holy Ghost, who is most changed in his life." "So then this is to be taken for a most true lesson taught by Christ's own mouth,[1] that the works of the moral commandments of God be the very true works of faith, which lead to the blessed life to come."

Our church also doth suppose, that those who receive most of the Spirit are such as are most truly virtuous and good: such have most of the divine grace, to confirm and strengthen them in all goodness; as it is in the office for the holy communion; "if with a true penitent heart and lively faith we receive the holy Sacrament, then we dwell in Christ and Christ in us," &c. [2]"Wherefore if any say, O, but how shall I know that the holy Ghost is within me? Some man perchance will say, forsooth as the tree is known by the fruit, so is also the holy Ghost: the fruits of the holy Ghost, according to the mind of St. Paul, are these; love, joy, Gal. v. peace, long-suffering, gentleness, goodness, faithfulness, meekness, temperance, &c. Contrariwise, the deeds of the flesh are these; adultery, fornication, uncleanness, wantonness, idolatry, witchcraft, hatred, debate, emulation, wrath, contention, sedition, heresy, envy, murder, drunkenness, gluttony, and such like. Here now is the glass wherein thou must behold thyself, and discern whether thou hast the holy Ghost within thee, or the spirit of the flesh. If thou see thy works be virtuous and good, consonant to the prescript rule of God's word, savory and tasting not of the flesh, but the Spirit; then assure thyself thou art endued with the holy Ghost: otherwise, in thinking well of thyself, thou dost but deceive thyself. The holy Ghost doth always declare himself by his fruitful and gracious gifts." [3]"But to conclude, ye shall briefly take this short lesson. Wherever ye find the spirit of arrogance and pride, the spirit of envy, hatred, contention, cruelty, &c., assure yourselves that there is the spirit of the devil, and not of God; albeit

[1] Hom. of Good Works, 2nd Pt.

[2] 1st Pt. of the Sermon for Whit-sunday.

[3] 2nd Pt. of the Hom. for Whit-sunday.

they pretend to the world, outwardly, ever so much holiness: for as the Gospel teacheth us, The Spirit of Jesus is a good, holy, sweet, lowly, merciful Spirit, full of charity and love, full of forgiveness and pity, not rendering evil for evil, extremity for extremity. According to which rule, if any man live uprightly, of him it may be safely pronounced, that he hath the holy Ghost within him; if not, there is a plain token he doth usurp the name of the holy Ghost in vain."

As for the "manner and measure of the operations of the holy Spirit," the modesty and moderation of our church doth not decree any thing, lest (as St. Austin saith) "human infirmity proceed beyond what is safe." Yet our church gives a right account in sundry places of its homilies,[1] "how the holy Spirit comes to be withdrawn from men: by all these examples of holy Scripture we know, that as we forsake God, so shall he even forsake us. When he withdraweth from us his word, the right doctrine of Christ; his" gracious assistance and aid, "which is ever joined with his word; and leaveth us to our own wit, and will, and strength; he declareth then he beginneth to forsake us; [2]which is," as it follows; "after any do neglect the same, if they be unthankful to him; if they order not their lives according to his example and doctrine," &c. From whence we see also that our church "judgeth the promise of the Spirit is," as the blessings of the Gospel are generally, "conditional: for as God, for his part, delivered his Son to suffer death for us, so again, we for our parts should walk in a godly life, as becometh his children so to do. [3]He that is first made good by the Spirit and grace of God afterward bringeth forth good fruits."

As for those who affirm a supernatural and immediate illumination necessary, without which, other ordinary means are insufficient, either to give us certainty of the authority, or interpretation of divine writ: they affirm that which nowhere is declared: that which we have little reason to

[1] 2nd Pt. of the Hom. of Falling from God.

[2] 1st Pt. of the Hom. of Falling from God.

[3] 2nd Pt. of the Hom. of Alms-deeds.

credit from them that affirm so: we having neither experience of their extraordinary knowledge or goodness; but have found them most mistaken of any, in their interpretations of Scripture: and also, by the notes of having the Spirit, delivered in scripture, what is quite different hath appeared. The holding such an opinion tends to lessen the authority of the written word of God; and to make the dictates of the human spirit, if not sometime the diabolical, equal with the holy canon. And those others who lay the stress of the proof of the authority of Scripture, and the certainty of faith, and the interpretation of Scripture, upon such uncertainties as only the internal testimony of the Spirit (as is yet neither proved necessary or real; however, of which there is no proof unto others;) verily, such labour unprofitably to overthrow Christianity, and render all our faith uncertain. Their doctrine leads to such enthusiasm, as is not consistent with the peace of kingdoms, much less the peace of God's Church.

But such is the constant moderation of our church, though it doth reject and oppose all fanatical and ungrounded pretensions to the Spirit: yet our church most frequently, and with all humble reverence, owns the necessity of the "gracious aids and assistance of the Spirit," as the phrase is in our homilies several times used, "as without which we can do nothing pleasing to God: for in the power and virtue of the holy Ghost resteth all wisdom and all ability, to know God and to please him:"[1] therefore we pray, "that in all things he will mercifully direct and rule our hearts:"[2] we pray to God, "to grant us his Spirit, that those things which we do may please him:"[3] "To prevent us in all our doings,"[4] &c., "because of the ill-condition of those who are not governed by the Spirit of God."[5]

[1] 3rd Pt. of Hom. for Rogation Week.
[2] Coll. for 19th Sund. aft. Trin.
[3] Absolution.
[4] Coll. after Holy Comm.
[5] Hom. of Falling from God.

CHAPTER VI.

THE MODERATION OF THE CHURCH IN ITS JUDGMENT OF DOCTRINES.

Our Church doth wisely distinguish between what is necessary for Salvation, and what is not.

1. Because all things in divine revelation are alike true, but not alike necessary for furtherance of faith and piety, and establishing union among Christians, and peace in the church; our church hath wisely distinguished between what is necessary absolutely, and what only in some circumstances is necessary to salvation. "Those things (saith the Homily[1]) that be plain to understand, and necessary for salvation, every man's duty is to learn them;" "and as for the dark mysteries, to be contented to be ignorant in them until such time as it shall please God to open those things unto him."[2] "If it shall require to teach any truth, or to do any thing requisite for our salvation; all those things," saith St. Chrysostom, "we may learn plentifully of the Scripture." And in the nineteenth Article of the Church, the preaching of the "pure word of God," and the administration of the sacraments, are made indispensable notes of the visible Church: namely, "in all things that of necessity are requisite to the same:" and the eighth Article declares, "The three Creeds ought throughly to be believed and received, for that they may be proved by most certain warrant of holy Scripture;" where our church gives the reason of her faith, and sheweth her earnestness in contending for it. But the moderation of our church contains herself within the bounds of what is before made necessary: the principal and essential points of the doctrine of salvation (such as are fit to make up the unity of the faith, and constitute a Church) are no other

[1] 2nd Pt. of Hom. of Holy Script.

[2] 1st Pt. of Hom. of Holy Script.

among us, than what Christ and his Apostles at first made necessary, which also the ancient Church received as necessary unto baptism, and for distinction of heresy: which fundamental maxims of christian science are frequently and plainly repeated in scripture, and by our church were first of all insisted on at the reformation of our church: as we see in
1537. the "Institution of a Christian Man;" in the first Injunctions of our Kings; and our form of Catechism. Whereas the catechisms and systems which have been set up in opposition to the catechism and Articles of the Church of England, have abounded with many doubtful and unnecessary definitions; yet so insisted upon by some, as if the hinges of the gate of heaven turned upon those propositions: whereby many have agreed with Pope Pius the fourth, who by his bull set out the Apostles' Creed in a larger edition of about as many more articles, "without belief of which is declared no salvation:"[1] unto such a strange circumference is the body of their unnecessary belief extended: whereas the religion of our church tends to the centre. Which distinction of things necessary from what was not so,[2] King James, according to the sense of our church, declares of great use to lay a foundation for the public peace of the Church, and of particular men's minds, and the furtherance of true faith and piety.

Her Articles are few.

2. Those Articles which are delivered by our church, "for the avoiding of diversities of opinions, and establishing consent touching true religion;" they are few, especially those of positive doctrine: and the other negative positions were necessary to assert our liberty from the abuses and encroachments of the Romanists in their contrary affirmatives; few, if we consider either the time, or the occasion of their being framed. It being just about the meeting at Trent, made it

[1] Hanc veram catholicam fidem extra quam nemo salvus esse potest, quam in præsenti sponte profiteor, et veraciter teneo, &c.
Bulla Pii IV. super form. juram. prof. fid. in Conc. Trid. Concil. (Labbe) Lutet. Par. 1672. t. xiv. col. 946.

[2] Ut de necessariis conveniat, omnis opera insumatur: in non-necessariis, libertati Christianæ locus detur.
Is. Casauboni ad Card. Perr. Respons. p. 31. Lond. 1612.

necessary for our church to declare her sense of many doctrines, for the better satisfaction and directions of her sons, and to testify her equal conditions of communion; especially also, if we consider the cruel number of Articles, which either the Westminster divines, or the Trent counsellors have imposed on their followers.

Indeed "the Romanists do call our religion a negative religion, because in all the Controversies between us and them, we maintain the negative; that is, we go as far as we dare or can, with warrant from the holy scriptures, and the primitive Church, and leave them in their excesses, or those inventions which themselves have added; but in the mean time, they forget that we maintain all those Articles and truths which are contained in any of the ancient creeds of the Church, which I hope are more than negatives."[1]

"The church of England," saith Archbishop Laud, "comes far short of the church of Rome's severity; whose anathemas are not only for thirty-nine Articles, but for very many more, above one hundred in matters of doctrine; and that in many points as far remote from the foundation, though to the far greater rack of men's consciences; they must be all made fundamental if that church have once determined them: whereas the church of England never declared, that every one of her Articles are fundamental in the faith. For it is one thing to say, No one of them is superstitious or erroneous: and quite another to say, Every one of them is fundamental, and that, in every part of it, to all men's belief. Besides, the church of England prescribes only to her own children, and by those Articles provides but for her own peaceable consent in those doctines of truth: but the church of Rome severely imposes her doctrine upon the whole world, under pain of damnation."[2]

Which are generally exhibited, not as Articles of Faith.

3. These Articles of religion are generally exhibited as articles of peace and consent, not as articles of faith and communion; and as such they are propounded to all the

[1] Bishop Bramhall, fol. p. 1018. Dubl. 1676.

[2] Abp. Laud against Fisher. § xiv. p. 33. Lond. 1673.

but consent. Concerning subscription.

communicants in our church[1] in general, "for the avoiding diversities of opinions," as the title of the Articles is: not such a consent as Curcellæus[2] means, where he supposeth some "in the dregs of the age of the Reformation, obtrude their confessions and catechisms as a secondary rule, if not of truth, yet of consent, such as ought to be urged only to an infallible truth." 'Tis likely he might know many who did so, but the consent designed to be established by our Articles, is such a consent as may keep the peace of our church undisturbed, according to the sense of the fifth Canon; where the prohibition is directed against such as should speak against the thirty-nine Articles, as superstitious and erroneous, such as may not with a good conscience be subscribed to: "Whosoever shall hereafter affirm,"[3]—not as the Council of Trent[4] directs its anathema against those that shall so much as think diversely. Wherefore our church nowhere delivers our Articles as necessary to be believed, neither by virtue of their own necessity, or her own command; as several, with Bishop Bramhall, have noted: for which reason, subscription unto them is not required of any lay-person whatsoever, merely in order to his communion

[1 "We do not suffer any man to reject the thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England at his pleasure, yet neither do we look upon them as essentials of saving faith, or legacies of Christ and of his Apostles; but in a mean, as pious opinions, fitted for the preservation of unity: neither do we oblige any man to believe them, but only not to contradict them."

Abp. Bramhall's "Schism Guarded." tom. i. disc. iv. § i. cap. xi. Dubl. 1676.]

["They [the Articles of the English Church] are articles of peace and consent in certain controversies, to instruct and help us to 'take heed what we hear.'"]

Bp. Laney's Sermons. Lond. 1668, p. 48.

[2 Sed multo adhuc minore cum specie, quidam, in hac sæculorum fæce, Reformationi addicti, Confessiones suas et Catechismos pro regula fidei nobis importune obtrudunt; cum tamen non audeant asserere hæc scripta infallibilis esse veritatis. Excipiunt quidem se illa non habere pro 'norma primaria,' qui honor soli Scripturæ S. competat, sed tantum pro 'secundaria;' nec pro 'norma veritatis,' sed tantum pro 'norma consensus,' unde genuina Ecclesiæ Reformatæ membra ab extraneis discernantur.

Curcellæi Rel. Chr. Inst. lib. i. cap. xv. § 6. Amst. 1675.

[3 Quicunque in posterum affirmabit, &c. Eccl. Angl. canon.

[4 Si quis autem contrarium senserit, anathema sit.

Conc. Trid. de peccato orig. Labbe Can. v. tom. xiv. col. 753.

with our church, although the church of Geneva[1] urgeth subscription, not of the ministers only, but the people.[2] There is perfectly another reason why subscription is required of all who receive the privilege of degrees in our Universities: and in case of factious appellants,[3] who are inhibited, "unless they first subscribe:" and especially of the ministers of the church:[4] namely, because she may be as secure as she can of them to whom she commits so great a trust in the instruction of the people. Wherefore, of them who are entrusted with the ministry of the church, it is required that they disavow all obligations and opinions to break the peace of the church; and that they assent to the use of those things which are for the unity of Christians in this kingdom among themselves; which is no more than the law of nature hath granted every society, which the Church hath in all ages practised, and which our adversaries themselves did use. For "the [5] Presbyterians required a subscription to their solemn league, and the Independents had their church government." Therefore, in that our church takes all the security she can by sponsors at baptism, and by subscription of ministers, is a proof of her wisdom and great care of her own; especially among us, where the ministers of the church have, blessed be God, another tenure than in Holland, during the precarious pleasure of their paymasters; beneficed men among us having a freehold, and not to be turned out but in a legal way upon great cause deserving. Neither is subscription required by our

[1] Nihil habuit antiquius, quam ut ecclesiasticæ politiæ leges verbo Dei consentaneæ senatus consensu perscriberentur: a quibus postea discedere, neque ministris ipsis, neque civibus liceret. Th. Bezæ Calvin. Vit. Hanov. 1597.

[2] Ratio autem expedita ad eam rem una est, si extet nempe summa quædam doctrinæ ab omnibus recepta, quam inter prædicandum sequantur omnes, ad quam etiam observandam omnes episcopi et parochi jure-jurando astringantur, ut nemo ad munus Ecclesiasticum admittatur, nisi spondeat sibi illum doctrinæ consensum inviolatum futurum.

Calvin. Ep. Protectori Angl. lxxxvii. p. 185. Hanov. 1597.

[3] Canon 98.

[4] Discrimen latum est inter verbi Ministros et plebeios homines quos Ministri informant: testis enim est historia Ecclesiastica non per plebeios sed potius per clericos introductas esse hæreses et schismata.

Forbesius in Irenico, l. ii. c. 12.

[5] Discourse on Toleration, 1668. § 13. p. 33.

church of its ministers, unless they can do it willingly, and "ex animo;" nor unless they can with freedom of mind assent and consent to the uniform practice of the church: this if they cannot do with a quiet mind, they are left free by the church to enjoy a laical indulgence, which is very large and exceeding bountiful. As for dissatisfaction or weakness, what said King James,[1] "How long will such brethren be weak? Are not forty-five years sufficient[2] to grow strong in? Some of them are strong enough, if not head-strong." But I wonder there should be such earnest recusants to subscription, of the followers of Calvin among us: when as he to the English Protector writes thus: "'Tis fit to look after the desultory humour of them who would have too much lawful to themselves. The door is to be shut to curious doctrines; and one expedite means for that purpose is, if there were a summary of doctrine received of all, which all may follow in preaching; to the observing of which, all bishops and parish priests may be bound by an oath, that no one may be admitted to any ecclesiastical office, unless he first engage that he will keep inviolate that consent of doctrine. And so for Catechism. And as to a form of prayer and ecclesiastical rites, I very much approve, that there be a constant form extant, from which it may not be lawful for the pastors in their functions to depart, in regard of the simplicity and unskilfulness of some, and that the consent of the Churches among themselves may more certainly be manifest: lastly, to prevent the desultory levity of those who affect novelties." And in his epistle to Farellus[3] Calvin writes, "It always

[1] Conference at Hampton Court.
Dr. Cardwell's Hist. of Conferences, ch. iv. p. 196. Oxf. 1840.

[2] Qui decennali disciplina nondum usque eo profecerunt ut tam faciles in theologia quæstiones intelligant, non possunt apti esse ad sustinendum onus pastorale in Ecclesia Dei. Forbes. Iren. l. ii. c. 12.

[3] Expedit quidem prospicere desultoriis ingeniis quæ sibi nimium licere volunt: claudenda est etiam janua curiosis doctrinis. Ratio autem expedita ad eam rem una est, si extet nempe summa quædam doctrinæ ab omnibus recepta, quam inter prædicandum sequantur omnes: ad quam etiam observandam omnes episcopi et parochi jure-jurando adstringantur, ut nemo ad munus ecclesiasticum admittatur, nisi spondeat sibi illum doctrinæ consensum inviolatum futurum. Extet præterea communis formula catechismi in usum puerorum, et siqui erunt rudiores in populo, &c. ..... Quod ad formulam precum et rituum ecclesiasti-

prevailed in the Church which was decreed in ancient synods, that those who would not be subject to the laws of common discipline, should be dismissed from their function."

Our Articles are propounded so as to avoid unnecessary controversy.

4. The very frame of the Articles shows the great moderation and wisdom of the church, they being propounded on purpose so as to avoid unnecessary controversy; propounded not with a Laodicean indifference, or lukewarmness, in what we ought to contend for,[1] as some charge our church with. "It is not meant here or elsewhere by moderation such a latitude," "which," Bishop Taylor saith,[2] "hath something of craft, but very little of ingenuity:" which can only "serve the ends of peace and external Charity, or a fantastic concord, but not the ends of truth, and holiness, and christian simplicity." It is not meant here as if our Articles were framed like the dubious oracles of Delphos, that the subscribers might understand them which way they please, like a shoe for every foot; as if they were "to deceive by ambiguous terms."[3]

The judicious Bishop Sanderson,[4] in his directions for the "Peace of the Church," lays down this as the first; "that particular churches would be as tender as may be in giving their definitions and determinations, especially where there may be admitted a latitude of dissenting without prejudice done, either to the substance of the catholic faith, or to the

corum, valde probo ut certa illa extet, a qua pastoribus discedere in functione sua non liceat, tam ut consulatur quorundam simplicitati et imperitiæ quam ut certius ita constet omnium inter se ecclesiarum consensus: postremo etiam ut obviam eatur desultoriæ quorundam levitati qui novationes quasdam affectant, uti eo pertinere catechismum ipsum ante ostendi.

Calvini Ep. Protect. Angl. Amst. 1667. p. 39.

Semper hoc in ecclesia valuit, quod veteribus Synodis fuit decretum, ut qui subjici communis disciplinæ legibus noluerit, munere abdicetur.

Calvin. Ep. Farello. Amst. 1667. p. 55.

[1] Parker's Eccles. Pol. l. i. c. 25. p. 65. Francof. 1616.

[2] Ductor Dub. l. iii. c. 4. Rule 23. tom. xiv. Lond. 1828.

[3] Whereunto the Bishop of London replied, that those learned and reverend men who framed the Book of Common Prayer, intended not by ambiguous terms to deceive any, but did, indeed, by those words, intend a permission of private persons to baptise in case of necessity, &c.]

Sum of Conf. at Hampt. Court. Lond. 1638. p. 15.

[4] Pax Ecclesiæ, p. 51. 52.

tranquillity of the Church, or to the salvation of the dissenter: in which respect the moderation of the Church of England is much to be commended, and to be preferred not only before the Roman church, which with unsufferable tyranny bindeth all her children, upon pain of damnation, to all her determinations, even in those points which are no way necessary to salvation: but also before sundry other reformed churches, who have proceeded further than this church hath done."

It is a sufficient proof of the sincerity of our church, if what it hath declared and intended to declare, hath a true, clear, and certain meaning: and her Articles do surely conduce to peace, if it appear all agree in the true, usual, literal meaning: but in respect of what is not intended to be declared by them, [1] "if even in those curious points in which the differences lie, men of all sorts take the Articles of the church of England to be for them;" then may be inferred what the Right Reverend Bishop of Chester hath said:[2] "this rather gives a testimony of the great wisdom and moderation of the church, which in points doubtful and controverted, hath propounded only that which with no sober man can be matter of doubt, or subject of controversy: as in the sixteenth Article it is said, 'Not every deadly sin willingly committed after baptism, is sin against the Holy Ghost:' now certainly, this is in itself a most sound, certain, infallible, plain, and perspicuous doctrine; and, being so, the want of liberty to interpret one term of it 'deadly sin,' cannot render it doubtful: for, interpret it which way you will; either all sins are deadly: or say all sins are not deadly; it will be equally true, that 'every deadly sin is not the sin against the Holy Ghost.' In the like manner, whether we may fall from grace totally and finally, which hath been a great doubt; without any question, 'after we have received the Holy Ghost, we may depart from grace given;' of that there hath never been any question."

[1] K. Charles I. Declar. pref. to Artic. 1630.
[V. Collier's Eccl. Hist. vol. viii. p. 37. Lond. 1841.]

[2] No necessity of reformat. of the doct. of the Ch. of Engl.
By John Pearson, D.D. Lond. 1660. p. 8.

In the third Article, "Of Christ's descent into hell,"[1] the church purposely hath waived all the controversies thereof, and plainly propounded the Article.[2] In the seventeenth Article there is not one word of the horrible decree of absolute reprobation: rather in the close of the Article, there is a wholesome caution against extreme curiosity: "furthermore, we must receive God's promises as they are set forth to us in holy Scriptures; and in our doings that will of God is to be followed which is expressly declared to us in the word of God:" and in the Homilies, our church[3] takes notice of some who "hearing the loving and large promises of God's mercy, and so not conceiving a right faith thereof, make those promises larger than ever God did," &c.

So evident is it, that the church of England was intent on peace and edification of her sons: "wherefore the Articles of the Protestant church, in the infancy thereof, were drawn up in general terms, foreseeing that posterity would grow up to fill the same: meaning that these holy men did prudently discover, that differences in judgment would unavoidably happen in the church; and were loath to unchurch any, and drive them off from an ecclesiastical communion for petty differences; which made them pen the Articles in comprehensive words to take in all, who, differing in branches, meet in the root of the same religion."[4] So that I think "the modest survey of Naked Truth"[5] did not fly one jot too high, when he saith, "it cannot be denied but the Articles of our church were compiled with the highest discretion and moderation that ever was used by uninspired men; so that it is a most unreasonable charge on the Church of England, to say,

[1] As Christ died for us and was buried: so also is it to be believed that he went down into hell. (Art. Eliz. 1562.)

Nam corpus usque ad resurrectionem in sepulchro jacuit: spiritus ab illo emissus cum spiritibus qui in carcere sive in inferno detinebantur, fuit; illisque prædicavit, quemadmodum testatur Petri locus. Sic Artic. Edw. VI.
(Artic. of 1552 and 1562 compared. Bp. Sparrow's Collect. Lond. 1661. p. 87.)

[2] Rem igitur credimus, modum nescimus.....Hujus Articuli verum et genuinum sensum neque Apostoli tradiderunt neque Ecclesia definivit.
Ant. de Dominis De Rep. Eccl. t. iii. l. vii. c. 12. § 125. Francof. 1658.

[3] 2nd Pt. of Hom. of Falling from God.

[4] P. Heylin Hist. quinquartic. Pt. ii. ch. 8. p. 31. Lond. 1660.

[5] P. 4. [by G. Burnet. Lond. 1676.]

she has tyrannically imposed many unnecessary conditions on her members, in point of faith and doctrine:" so large a scope is left in our church for mutual charity, and the inquiries of the studious. Bishop Bramhall was far from one of those which some called latitudinarians; yet he saith,[1] "If it were not for this disciplinarian humour which will admit no latitude[2] in religion, but makes each nicety a fundamental, and every private opinion an Article of faith; which prefers particular errors before general truths; I doubt not but all reformed churches might easily be reconciled." [3]"Wherefore in such points which may be held diversely of divers men, salva fidei compage, I would not take any man's liberty from him, and humbly beseech all men, that they would not take mine from me."[4]

And here, I think, the judgment of Bishop Andrews may fitly be repeated, as most agreeable with the moderation of our church: [5]"I truly ingenuously confess, I have followed the counsel of St. Austin: these mysteries which I cannot unfold, I admire them shut: and therefore for these sixteen years, since I was made Priest, I neither publicly, nor privately, have disputed nor preached of them: and now I

[1] Fair Warning, tom. ii. ch. i. p. 494.

[2] Sunt ergo res aliquæ ita comparatæ ut benignam sibi interpretationem suo quodam jure concedi postulent; quæ sc. non sit interclusa verborum angustiis, sed cum quodam (ut Ciceronis verbo utar) 'laxamento' liberior.

De Juramenti promissorii obligatione. Lond. 1670. p. 38.

[3] Chillingworth. Pref. § 28.

[4] Non per difficiles nos Deus ad beatam vitam quæstiones vocat, nec multiplici eloquentis facundiæ genere sollicitat.

Hilar. de Trinit. lib. x. sub fin. ed. Bened. col. 1080.

Sunt quidem nonnullæ quæstiones quæa curiosis et inquietis hominibus excitatæ, etiam doctis et piis viris negotium faciunt. In his ea moderatio adhibenda videtur, ut primum de iis nihil temere, præsertim quod sit manifesto Dei verbo contrarium vel alienum, statuatur, &c.

G. Cassandri de pii viri officio. [p. 329. in t. iii. op. M. Ant. de Dominis.]

[5] Ego certe (ingenue fateor) sequutus sum Augustini consilium: mysteria hæc quæ aperire non possum, clausa miratus sum, et proinde per hos sedecim annos, ex quo Presbyter sum factus, me neque publice neque privatim vel disputasse de eis, vel pro concione tractasse: etiam nunc quoque malle de eis audire quam dicere. Et quidem cum lubricus locus sit, et habeat utrinque periculosa præcipitia, cumque loci Paulini, (unde fere eruitur) inter δυσνοήτα illa (de quibus Petrus) semper sint habiti: cumque nec multi in clero sint, qui ea dextre

had rather hear than speak of them: and truly since it is a slippery place, and hath on either side its precipices; and since these places of St. Paul are always esteemed among those which are hard to be understood; and many of the clergy are neither fit to explain them, nor many of the people can be idoneous hearers; I would e'en persuade silence enjoined on both sides: and truly, I judge it more expedient that our people be taught to seek their salvation in the plain way of a holy and upright life, than in the hidden paths of the divine counsels: into which, too curious inspection use to cause giddiness in their heads, and mists before their eyes."

The wise moderation of the Kings of *England*, in their injunctions to Preachers, and orders taken to preserve Truth, Unity, and Charity. 1547.

5. In pursuance of the same design of the church for peace and moderation, it is very proper here to mention the seasonable and wise Declarations and Injunctions of our kings of England, "to preachers," and all others, to keep them within the bounds of the same peaceful Moderation. In the Injunctions of King Edward VI., of Sermons it is enjoined, "that they shall purely and sincerely declare the word of God: and in the same, exhort their hearers to the works of faith, mercy, and charity, specially prescribed and commanded in scripture."[1] In Queen Elizabeth's Articles for doctrine and preachers, they are admonished "to use sobriety and discretion in teaching the people; namely, in matters of controversy; and to consider the gravity of their office, and to foresee with diligence the matters which they will speak, to utter them to the edification of the Audience."[2]

King James (Jan. 18, 1616) sent instructions to the Universities; "that young students in divinity should be directed to study such books as were most agreeable to the doctrine and discipline of the church of England: and be excited to

expedire, et perpauci in populo qui idonei illius auditores esse possint; suaderem si fieri possit, ut indiceretur utrinque silentium; nec ita passim et crude proponeretur a quibusque, ut assolet. Certe multo magis expedire arbitror, ut doceatur populus noster salutem suam quærere in manifestis vitæ sanctæ et fideliter institutæ (quod et Petrus suadet) quam in occultis consilii divini: cujus curiosa nimis inspectio vertigines et scotomata generare potest et solet."

p. 21. Articulorum Lambethan. Lond. 1651.

[1] Bp. Sparrow's Eccles. Canons. Lond. 1684. p. 2.

[2] Ibid. p. 123.

bestow their time in the Fathers, and Councils, Schoolmen, Histories, and Controversies; and not to insist too long on Compendiums and Abbreviators, making them the grounds of those sacred studies." August 4, 1623; in his letter to the Archbishop: "Whereas at this present divers young students, by reading of late writers and ungrounded divines, do broach many times unprofitable, unsound, seditious, and dangerous doctrines, to the scandal of the church;" he enjoined, "that no preacher of what title soever, under the degree of a Bishop or Dean at the least, do from henceforth presume to preach in any popular Auditory, the deep points of predestination, election, reprobation; or of the universality, efficacy, resistibility, or irresistibility of God's grace ..... but rather confine themselves wholly to those two heads, of faith and good life, which are all the subject of the ancient sermons and homilies: that no preacher, of what title or denomination soever, shall presume [causelessly or without invitation from the text] to fall into bitter invectives, and indecent railing [speeches,] against the persons of either Papists or Puritans; but modestly and gravely, when they are occasioned [thereunto] by the text of scripture, free both the doctrine and the discipline of the church of England from the aspersions of either adversary, especially when the auditory is suspected to be tainted with the one or the other infection."[1]

King Charles (of blessed memory) set forth with the Articles a Declaration,[2] wherein he required thus: "In
1630. these both curious and unhappy differences which have for so many hundred years, in different times and places exercised the Church of Christ; we will that all further curious search be laid aside, and these disputes be shut up in God's promises, as they be generally set forth to us in the holy Scriptures, and the general meaning of the Articles of the Church of England according to them."

It is to be wished that all the Directions concerning preachers, in the several Kings' reigns since the Reformation, were imprinted on the minds of all the clergy and others; especially, His present Majesty's "Directions," dated Octo-

[1 K. James' Lett. to Abp. Abbot. Collier's Eccl. Hist. vol. vii. pp. 423, 424. Lond. 1841.]

[2 Prefixed to the "Articles of Religion," in Bk. of Comm. Prayer.]

ber 14, 1662; "which, among other great reasons inducing, were set forth because of the extravagance of sundry young Divines, who took upon them in their popular sermons, to handle the deep points of God's eternal counsels and decrees, and other fruitless controversies, serving rather to amuse than profit the hearers; which is done for the most part, and with greatest confidence by such persons as least understand them.

"Therefore they are admonished not to spend their time in the search of such abstruse and speculative notions: however, that they presume not positively and doctrinally to determine any thing concerning the same: and for the edifying the people in faith and godliness, that they in their ordinary sermons insist chiefly on catechetical doctrines, (wherein are contained all the necessary and undoubted verities of religion,) declaring withal, unto their congregations, what influences such doctrines ought to have into their lives and conversations; and stirring them up effectually, as well by their examples as their doctrines, to the practice of such religious and moral duties as are the proper results of the said doctrines; as self-denial, contempt of the world, humility, patience, meekness, temperance, justice, mercy, obedience, and the like, and to a detestation, &c. And because these licentious times have corrupted religion in the very roots and foundations, that where there is an Afternoon's Exercise, it be especially spent, either in explaining some part of the Church Catechism, or what may conduce to the exposition of the Liturgy, and prayers of the church, as occasion shall be offered; the only cause they grew into contempt among the people being this, that they were not understood."

The subscription for university preachers in the University of Cambridge, keeps its subscribers within the same bounds: and by the way, I may note the moderation and excellent temper of our Universities at this time, having known for many years together, in Cambridge, there have seldom been disputed in our schools those controversies, which in the age before did so much divide both foreign churches and ours, and also our Universities themselves. Of our other University I am assured the same, from my most Reverend Diocesan, the Lord Bishop of Lincoln.

Having mentioned our Universities, I conceive a very

proper proof of the moderation of our church of England may be taken from the general practice in our Universities, (those noble seminaries of the Church,) where among the Theses which are disputed in the Divinity Schools, commonly one is given to assert our church against the Romanists, the other to defend our church against other sectaries.

The care of very many of our Bishops hath been also the same, as may appear from one of their exemplars of subscription: I have set it down in the margin,[1] because of its excellent use.

1618. In the Instructions of King James to the Divines he sent over to the synod of Dort, one was, "that they should advise the ministers of those churches, that they do not deliver in the pulpit to the people, those things for ordinary doctrines which are the highest points of schools, and not fit for vulgar capacity, but are disputable on both sides; and that they carry themselves with that advice, moderation, and discretion, as to persons of their quality and gravity should appertain."[2]

After all these great testimonies of moderation in our church, it is proper to mention what we meet with in the pacific Dr. Hammond's Discourse of God's Grace and Decrees, sect. 24, "This I suppose the reason, both of our Church's moderation in framing the Article of predestination, and of our late King's Declaration in silencing the debate of the Questions. For if by these methods the Church could but have prevailed to have the definitions of the several pretenders forgotten; all men contenting themselves, as our Article prescribes, with the promises of God as they are declared in scripture, (which sure are universal and conditionate, not absolute and particular,) the turmoil and heat and impertinence of disputes had been prevented, which now goes for an engagement in God's cause."[3] And, blessed be God, the

[1] Ego Curatus cui licentia prædicandi verbum Dei concedenda est, sacras literas purè et sincerè tractabo, easque prudenti simplicitate populo exponam, nec in sermonibus meis de rebus jam constitutis suscitabo controversias, nec spargam contentiones, neque innovationem ullam doctrina vel ceremoniis suadebo. V. Episcopii præf. Prævorstii de concionibus, vol. i.

[2] [Collier's Eccl. Hist. vol. vii. pp. 404. 405. § 4. 9. Lond. 1840.]

[3] Lond. 1674. vol. i. p. 556.

design of the Church's moderation, and of our gracious King (the church's moderator and governor) hath thus far had excellent effect in the church and our Universities; that for a long time there hath been a great silence from that noise and learned squabble, which sometimes formerly disturbed the church's peace: so that now we may be more at leisure, without prejudice and passion, to review and admire the wise and excellent determinations of our church.

The controversies of the late age are well moderated, by the determinations of our Church. 1618.

6. To shew how well the controversies of the late age have been moderated by our church, might deserve a just treatise by itself; but our church seems to observe the same advice which King James gave to the Divines going over to Dort, "If there be main opposition between any who are overmuch addicted to their own opinions, your endeavour shall be, that certain positions be moderately laid down, which may tend to the mitigation of heat on both sides."[1]

Our church throughout hath done the same thing, as might be instanced at large in the controversies between us and the Romanists; and between others also. Indeed, the Articles, and especially the Homilies, do copiously and fitly moderate in these disputes, which not long since very much exercised Christendom: as for instance, when the Homilies[2] declare, "Justification is not the office of man, but of God" only, "which we receive of him" "by his free mercy, and by the only merits of his most dearly beloved Son." Yet "our faith in Christ (as it were) saith unto us, It is not I that take away your sins, but it is Christ only;" "nevertheless by faith we embrace the promise of God's mercy;" such a faith, whereof doth follow a loving heart to obey his commandments. Justification by faith, "only, freely, and without works, is spoken for to take away clearly all merit of our works, as being unable to deserve our justification at God's hands, and thereby most plainly to express the weakness of man, and the goodness of God:" Yet "the true, lively, and Christian faith, is no dead, vain, or unfruitful thing, but a thing of perfect virtue, and of wonderful operation, and working, and strength; bringing forth all good motions and good

[Collier's Eccl. Hist. Lond. 1840. vol. vii. p. 405. § 7.]

[2] Homilies "Of Salvation;" and "Of Faith." 2nd Pts.

works:" "therefore let us by such virtues as spring out of faith shew our election to be sure and stable."

In such and many like passages are known the excellent wisdom and moderation of our church, particularly, as we have seen, attributing unto good works, no more nor no less than what is consistent with the grace of the gospel; declaring most earnestly against the Roman opinion of merit by them; and yet, according as King Edward's[1] and Queen Elizabeth's Injunctions have it, doth recommend "charity and hospitality as a true worshipping of God." And albeit the Romanists have much vaunted in this particular, it hath not been doubted but the church of England since the Reformation hath as great monuments of charity as ever were before, under papacy, in the same compass of time and place: so truly doth the public exhortation to the contribution of St. Paul's building,[2] conclude, "Our adversaries of Rome may be convinced that our piety is as generous and charitable as theirs, but would not be so arrogant and presumptuous: and whilst we disclaim the merit, yet we most stedfastly believe the obligation and necessity of good works."

How far our sectaries are deficient in this matter, it shall not be our business here to inquire, nor to repeat how slightly and reproachfully they have spoken against the truth in this matter. It may suffice to observe from what hath been said, nothing hath more vindicated the doctrine of the gospel, the grace of God, and merits of our Saviour, and established the necessity of a good life, and prepared us for a comfortable death, than the doctrine of our church rightly understood; wherein she hath delivered herself from all those fond opinions on which the church of Rome and others, have founded their peculiar doctrines, which have disquieted and confounded so many Christians, and disturbed the church: insomuch that some who have been otherwise much addicted to their own suppositions, yet in many matters of controversy have readily acknowledged the moderation of our church. The Presby-

[1 They ought at this time to be much more ready to help the poor and needy, knowing that to relieve the poor is a true worshipping of God, required earnestly upon pain of everlasting damnation.]

Injunc. of Edw. VI. [Bp. Sparrow's Coll. Lond. 1684. p. 11.]

[2] [Vid. Collier's Eccl. Hist. vol. vi. p. 342.]

terian brethren, in their first paper of Proposals [1] to his Majesty, say; "We take it for granted, that there is a firm agreement between our brethren and us, in doctrinal truths of the Reformed Religion, and in the substantials of divine worship." "Very famous," saith Dr. Tully, "through the whole world, is the most prudent moderation of the church of England in her definitions of faith, in which surely to all she offers herself in so equal a poise, that she can afford no offence to sober minds and lovers of truth: nor doth she give any occasion of cavilling to slight and petulant dispositions, of which, in our age, there is such a swarm."[2] And Sancta Clara saith, "The English Confession goes on safely within this Latitude, neither binding its followers to one side or other, but freely leaves these matters (of controversy) to scholastic disputation."[3]

7. As of doctrines, some are plain, others mysterious; and as our Church requires consent in nothing contrary to sense and reason; so also she hath always contained herself from immoderate curiosity, even in treating of mysteries: using good caution, and yet not so much as to become sceptical: making good search for her own and others' satisfaction, as is fit; and yet not too much, so as to run into extreme or nice curiosity.

As our Church requires our consent in nothing contrary to sense or reason, so it hath also contained itself from immoderate curiosity, in treating of venerable mysteries.

Of such mysteries as are revealed, our church hath faithfully declared those which God hath made requisite for us to know, so far forth as is necessary: yet such moderation is used in the manner of declaring them, that she hath prudently kept to the form of sound words in holy scripture, and the declarations of the ancient Church: not disclaiming the use of such expressions which the authority of the first Councils and the great consent of the learned have received,

[1] [Vid. Collier's Eccl. Hist. vol. viii. p. 405.]

[2] Celebris est admodum toto terrarum orbe Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ in suis Fidei definitionibus prudentissima moderatio, in quibus sane omnibus tam æquo stat libramine, ut neque sobriis ingeniis et veri amantibus offensæ, neque leviculis et petulantibus (quorum hoc seculo luxuriosa seges est) cavillandi ansam suppeditet. Tully Tho. Justificatio Paulina. Oxon. 1674. p. 20.

[3] Tandem intra hanc latitudinem opinionum tuto incedit Confessio Anglicana, nec restringit suos sequaces ad unam, vel alteram partem, sed libere scholasticæ agitationi exponit. S. Clara: 'Deus, Natura, Gratia.' Lugd. 1635. p. 13.

while the words follow the thing itself delivered in holy Scripture, though in so many syllables perhaps there not set down; which are not introduced into our church to corrupt primitive simplicity, but to prevent the double meaning which others have invented for other scripture expressions: and as our church doth not intermeddle with what is above human inquiry, ([1]"it shall better suffice us in low humility, to reverence and dread" the Divine "Majesty, which we cannot comprize, than by over-much curious searching to be over-charged with the glory;") so it doth not determine in those things which are, as I may say, below its inquiry; namely, in things unnecessary to be known.[2]

Our Church doth not insist upon such kinds of certainty as others without just cause do exact.

8. In giving a reason of our hope, and in convincing ourselves or others of the truth of matters of faith and Christian doctrine, our church doth not insist upon such kind of certainties as others without reason do exact. The point of certainty is a nice step which is taken in the first consideration of religion, and of great consequence; wherefore we cannot but observe the great moderation and care of our church; resolving the first motive and reason of believing into the testimony of God only, submitting all rational inquiries unto the divine testimony: when once there is assurance that the same testimony is divine, our church doth not make, nor suppose there can be made by any human judgment, a measure of what is incomprehensible.

Our church doth accept and use such rational evidences, as God hath given us, as the means of being assured of the certainty that the revelations which we receive as divine, are such: because the divine testimony is not immediate to us, nor necessary it should be so, but is conveyed to the assent of the understanding by some proper and just evidence. The ordinary way of knowledge allowed us is the conviction of our judgments and reasons, concerning the truth of the proposition we assent to; which conviction is made by such proper arguments as may sufficiently induce our belief. Now, though there are

[1] 1st Pt. of the Serm. for Rogation Week.

[2] Quod legit Ecclesia Anglicana, hoc pie credit: quod non legit, pari pietate non inquirit. Casaub. ad Card. Perr. Respons. Lond. 1612. p. 48.

innumerable arguments which convince us of the certainty of the divine testimony in the matters we have received; yet such is the moderation of our church, she doth not require every one in her communion necessarily to know and receive all the reasons of certainty which are and may be given: nor yet to rely on one to the neglect of another: but leaves us to be satisfied according to the means and opportunities, which we have abundantly offered unto us: justly supposing there are so many reasons persuading the truth of what we believe, that some are convinced by some, others by others, as the providence of God disposeth things.

Our church nowhere makes infallible certainty of assent, a necessary condition of faith: it being sufficient to make our faith certain, if our rule be infallible, and that applied with moral evidence; that is, such an evidence as we can have of things and actions past, as is sufficient to guide and govern our manners and behaviour. Some of late have contended, with very ill success, that an infallible certainty of assent is necessarily wrought by demonstration, and what they love to call scientific evidence, in every believer: which doctrine of J. S. is condemned by his adversaries, even of Rome,[1] "as the pith of Manicheism; because it lays this burden on the Church, or an œcumenical council, evidently to demonstrate its own infallibility." If destroying the first foundation of the Roman infallibility were all, we might dispense with that inconvenience, as it renders their motives of credibility insufficient; which before the doctrine of infallibility is received, used to be the only way they had to recommend the Church of Rome to the approbation of proselytes. But to affirm, that all certainty of Christian faith is generally wrought by such demonstration; in case that doctrine proves false, the consequence is, if Christian faith have no other certainty, Christianity itself is left uncertain in its very foundations.

Others there are who deliver, that an infallible certainty of assent wrought only by the immediate extraordinary opera-

[1] Secunda propositio est medulla Manichæismi, imponitque onus Ecclesiæ, aut Concilio œcumenico, demonstrandi evidenter suam infallibilitatem.
Animadv. P. Talboti Arch. Dubl. in Prop. 2. p. 54. [Vid. Lomini Hær. Blackl.]

tion of the Spirit of God, is necessarily in every true believer. Now, though our church doth, as much as any can do, own the necessity of God's grace and holy Spirit, "to prevent, assist, and follow us;"[1] especially in what concerns divine matters: yet our church is not so bold with the holy Spirit of God, to affirm, that such an inward testimony of the divine Spirit, working together in our spirits an infallible assent, is so necessary to assure us of the certainty of faith, and of the authority of holy Scriptures, and of the truth of other doctrines in question, as without which, we could have no such belief as is required to salvation. Which precarious presumption tends to render useless all those sufficient evidences we have of divine truth by the gracious means which God hath appointed ordinary in his Church: and, whereas the asserters of this extraordinary spirit exclude all other means of real certainty as insufficient, such a doctrine being false, must needs tend also to overthrow all Christian religion.

Such is the sad consequence of the doctrines both of Dr. J. O. and Mr. J. S. in making, though on differing grounds, an infallible assent necessary to a true belief. They agree together also in the injury they do Christian Religion, by traducing our faith as a "probable, fallible, human, natural faith," (which are the very words they[2] both unite in, to expose our belief to contempt,) which is grounded on such evidences as God hath abundantly afforded us, to assure us of the truth of his divine testimony. Which evidences, especially in matters of faith necessary to salvation, since they are so plain and certain; our church hath always held needless, such an "infallible guide," as the Romanists would impose upon us: and, for the same reasons that we do not expect any new revelations, nor any ostentation of new miracles necessary to a true church or true faith, they being superseded by the ordinary means of faith which are sufficient; for the same reasons we cannot presume to expect, much less

[1] [Vid. Collect for Seventeenth Sund. aft. Trin.]

[2] V. Dr. J. O. [John Owen] Reason of Faith. Mr. J. S. [John Serjeant] Faith vindic. from Possib. of Falsehood. Lon. 1667. 8vo. [From the firmness supernatural faith ought to have over natural." "Divine faith ought to have a far greater degree of firmness in it than any humane faith whatsoever."]

p. 72.
p. 73.

to make necessary to every true belief, such extraordinary illapses of the divine Spirit, which makes those who only think they have it think themselves only infallible. And thus we may discern how many are led to Popery by the way of enthusiasm; for it is usual for those into whose head enthusiasm is flown, to reel from one extreme to another.

To preserve us from these uncertainties, among the very many reasons which we have from rational and moral evidence, whereby the truth of the divine testimony is confirmed to us abundantly, our church owns no one greater (since the miraculous gifts) than the testimony of God's Church now and in all ages since Christ and his Apostles' time, because of the sundry evidences also, which confirm to us the truth of the church's testimony; all which amount to more than high probability: for as [1]Lominus tells J. S., "Probability on one side doth not exclude probability also on the opposite side: but the reason of moral evidence and certainty doth exclude any probability on the contrary part; and that so manifestly, that only grievous ignorance and pertinacy can incline a man thereunto."

Doctrines are so propounded to those in our Church's communion, as not to render useless their own reasons

9. As the moderation of our church allows us to be reasonably satisfied of the certainty of our faith; much more are other doctrines so propounded to those of our communion, as not to render useless their own reasons and judgments. Notwithstanding, our church doth sufficiently vindicate her own just power, and the authority of what she testifies and determines, and by her Canons requires a just submission; all care being also taken by the Church to prevent error, and dissensions, and wresting the Scriptures. Yet all is performed among us with a most excellent and golden mean: and, in that nothing in our church is determined contrary to truth, nor the judgment of the catholic Church, nor right reason, the Church of England can the better allow her

Articles xx. xxxiv., &c.

Canon 34. 49. 139.

[1] Nam summa probabilitas unius sententiæ non excludit nec extinguit probabilitatem alterius sibi oppositæ. At ratio Evidentiæ, vel certitudinis moralis, in eo sita est, ut extinguat penitus, excludatque omnem probabilitatem prudentem a sententia sibi opposita, idque adeo manifeste, ut sola inscitia vel pertinacia queat hominem ad partem evidentiæ morali adversam inclinare.

Lomini Hist. et Conf. Hæres. Blackl. Part ii. cap. iv. § 5. p. 202. Gandav. 1675.

sons their right to search, examine and discern what they must approve: which Bishop Davenant, and Bishop Bramhall, and some others, understand by their "judgment of discretion;" though the word sounds not so pleasing to some religious ears, because it seems by the use of the phrase in English to incline private persons to a power of refusing what the Church rightly determines, which is not to be allowed: for as the suffrage of our church hath been constantly unanimous with that of the Apostle, "We can do nothing against the truth, but for the truth;" much more ought private persons to be bounded thereby, if the Apostles and the Church are. [2 Cor. xiii. 8.]

The moderation of the Church will appear the more remarkable if we compare it with other extremes. The Church of Rome calls herself the mother and mistress of all other churches;[1] holds herself and her Bishop the universal monarch;[2] supreme over the whole Catholic Church diffusive, and over all particular churches and bishops; infallible also, in determining all controversies, in interpreting all scriptures; in whatsoever articles he or they please to add to our faith. Hereupon he requires an absolute obedience from all, without allowing any judgment of discerning; instead thereof, commanding an implicit faith; and which is more insolent, not from private Christians only within its own district, but over all other Christian churches in the world: which our church

[1] Sanctam catholicam et apostolicam Romanam ecclesiam, omnium ecclesiarum matrem et magistram agnosco.

Bulla Pii IV. in Concil. Trid. (Labbe) t. xiv. col. 946.

Si quis dixerit, in ecclesia Romana, quæ omnium ecclesiarum mater est et magistra, non esse veram de baptismi sacramento doctrinam, anathema sit.

Concil. Trid. Sess. vii. Can. 3. tom. xiv. col. 778.

[2] Pontificatus domini Gregorii universalis pontificis VII. anno 6, &c..... Ex præcepto sedis apostolicæ.

Concil. Rom. sub Greg. VII. tom. x. col. 378.

Pia consideratione statuit mater Ecclesia, &c.

Concil. Lugd. I. tom. xi. col. 660.

Romana ecclesia aliarum ecclesiarum caput est.

Concil. Flor. tom. xiii. col. 1663.

Nulli ergo omnino hominum liceat hanc paginam nostræ damnationis reprobationis, definitionis, inhibitionis, decreti, ordinationis, statuti, et mandati infringere vel ei ausu temerario contraire.

Conc. Later. V. sub Leon. X. Sess. viii. tom. xiv. col. 188.

in the fifth Homily "against wilful Rebellion," calls an "intolerable usurpation."[1]

I shall not stay the reader to compare [2]the church of Rome with the model of Mr. Hobbes's City; but to set out the show, we may cast an eye upon the other extreme of those, who because some under the name of the Church Catholic assume so unmeasurably to themselves, therefore affrighted thereat, have seemed to run out of their wits into another excess; and in the place of the Church and its true authority, have set up their own private images, diversely by them called: whereby they have only changed the idol;[3] like some that pulled down the crosses, and then set other inventions of their own, every jot as unreasonable. "The Romanists," saith Bishop Sanderson,[4] "while they use all endeavour that nothing be lost of the authority of their Church, they allow little to reason: On the other hand the Socinians rejecting all authority of the Church, they measure faith only by reason: there is one error to both, though it deceives under various shapes: either rock will be avoided, if authority with reason, and reason with authority, be discreetly joined."

Among the intemperate assertors of human reason some have supposed, There are no mysteries in religion but such as their human reason adequately comprehends; and have declared, that "submitting our judgment to authority, or any thing else whatsoever, gives universality and perpetuity to every error:"[5] (in a late tract of Human Reason) that they p. 4.

[1 "*False* usurpation," is the expression in the Homily referred to.]

[2] Hinc etiam fit, ut sæpius et passim in Talmude iteretur, quando duo Rabbini in contrarias sententias diversi abeunt, neminem obloqui debere, utrumque enim Doctrinam suam accespisse per Traditionem oralem Mosis a monte Sinai: .....nam amborum verba (etsi contradictoria) verba sunt Dei viventis. J. Buxtorfi. Synag. Jud. cap. iii. p. 71. Basil. 1680.

[3] Idolum fori in Idolum specus. Verulamius.

[4] "Pontificii, dum in illam partem omnia studia sua conferunt, ut nequid Ecclesiæ suæ authoritati decedat, parum deferunt Rationi: Sociniani ex adverso, dum rejecta omni authoritate fidem sola ratione metiuntur, id tandem agunt, ut cum ratione insaniant. Unus utrisque error: sed variis illudit partibus. Vitabitur uterque scopulus non aliter commodius, quam si cum ratione authoritas, cum authoritate ratio, scite et prudenter conjungantur."

De oblig. consc. Præl. 4. § 35. p. 152. Lond. 1661.

[5 Treatise of Human Reason, by Mat. Clifford, Esq. Lond. 1691.]

are most guilty of schism who will not allow difference of
p. 27. opinions: these diseases of the soul (errors) are not so deadly as the physicians of the soul make them for the exalting of their own reputation: that under various errors all may retain the same entire conscience and obedience toward God: that
p. 19. p. 29. all opinions may be lawfully held and maintained. How well in our church all these rocks and gulfs on either hand are avoided, by that accurate moderation by which she governs us,—in this chapter and divers other places of this treatise will appear.

As for the Romanists, that we may with one shovel cast away that heap of controversy, let me here only repeat what from the Church of England they have often heard: let the Romanists bring their books, and shew us one lawful proof where there is appointed any such infallible judge or interpreter; and that from some stronger Authority than that of "Pasce Oves:"[1] otherwise, we shall presume that our blessed Saviour knew better than they how to procure the peace of his Church, and the salvation of mankind. Wherefore the church of England owns no such living oracles upon earth as the church of Rome pretends to: our church hath no public conscience, nor public faith, nor public merits of her own which she makes show of, to invite to her communion; much less to set to sale for worldly lucre's sake: she saith with the
[Gal. vi. 4.] Apostle; [2]"Let every one prove his own work, and then he shall have rejoicing in himself alone, and not in another; for every man shall bear his own burden." According to this apostolical equity and moderation, our church doth nowhere go about to take from those of her communion that fundamental right of Christianity, as well as of human nature, to discern and examine what they must know, and what they must assent to, in a matter of such great and intimate concern as is our religion; especially, since the sober use of our reasons and judgments is most agreeable to the nature of

[1] Mirabile est quot officia, quot dignitates, quot potestates unico illo "Pasce" contineantur. Spalatensis l. vii.

[2] Τὸ δὲ ἔργον ἑαυτοῦ δοκιμαζέτω ἕκαστος. Gal. vi. 4, 5. Qui nollet cum debet δοκιμάζειν donec τὸ δόκιμον invenerit, id a Deo juste impetret ut eum tradat εἰς ἀδόκιμον νοῦν· *i.e.* in sensum mentemque quæ nec probet Deum neque approbetur a Deo. Καὶ καθὼς οὐκ ἐδοκίμασαν,—&c. Rom. i. 28.

mankind; and the very frame of our religion doth admit and invite such a search, which the more it is made, the more reasons are discovered to convince our minds of its truth;[1] yea, the very laws of our religion do require such a voluntary and reasonable service, as is the effect of right judgment, as well as of comformable wills and affections: and the more we improve our powers by their use and exercise, and our inward senses to discern and compare the truths of God one with another, and the clear consequences which may be drawn from them, the more we may advance our faith, and knowledge, and spiritual comfort.[2]

For, indeed, nothing hath more obstructed a great and laudable progress of all sorts of knowledge in the Christian world, than some mean and servile abdications which some men of great understandings have made of their own judgments. For, as in the Church, there are grievous inconveniences by renouncing the due government of the Church; so, on the other extreme, nowhere have errors grown more thick and tough than where men have suffered themselves in all things to understand by proxy; such are in ready disposition to swallow all poisons, and are liable to the guilt, not only of their first solitary error, but all which are consequent thereon: whereas those who use a sober examination, after they are convinced of one error, will be more cautious of others; and the truth they come to of choice and judgment is also more praiseworthy and more tenable.

I should swell this head into too great a bulk, if I should enumerate the sundry places wherein our blessed Lord, and his holy Apostles, did stir up and provoke the industry of the Christian disciples to search, discern, prove, try, examine what they received, lest at any time they were seduced by false prophets. The same admonitions and method have the

[1] Εὑρεθήσεται γὰρ ἐν τῷ χριστιανισμῷ ἐκ ἐλάττων, ἵνα μὴ φορτικόν τι εἴπῳ ἐξέτασις τῶν πεπιστευμένων. Origen. l. i.

[2] Oportet in ea re maxime, in qua vitæ ratio versatur, sibi quemque confidere, suoque judicio ac propiis sensibus niti ad investigandam, et perpendendam veritatem; quam credentem aliis erroribus, decipi, tanquam rationis expertem..... Quare cum sapere, id est, veritatem quærere, omnibus sit innatum: sapientiam sibi adimunt, qui sine ullo judicio inventa majorum probant et ab aliis pecudum more ducuntur. Lactant. de Orig. Erroris, lib. ii. c. 7. Oxon. 1684.

ancient fathers of the Church pursued; both which would be endless here to recite. Indeed all sorts of persuasions of men, seem to confess the necessity of first convincing the reason and judgment of what is to be received as truth: and therefore the Romanists use so many motives of credibility to induce belief of their Church, in which, if once the proselyte is caught, they serve him as the Chaldees did King Zedekiah, after they had taken him captive, they put out his eyes.[1] Where indeed the mystery we are sure is certainly declared and delivered by God, there we ought to captivate, not only our imaginations, but our reasons, to the obedience of faith; not staying for a connexion of the parts of the proposition to be believed by scientific evidence; (which Mr. Serjeant makes his "Sure-footing;") but where we are not assured of the matter of fact of the divine revelation, nor otherwise understand the reasons for such an assent, no one can put off human nature so far as to believe what they please.[2]

2 Kings xxv. 7.

Indeed it is the great honour of our church, that it doth not testify nor require attestation unto any thing but where some good reason why we do so is sufficiently manifest: which right as she maintains towards others, so she vindicates the same to herself; namely, of examining what is offered to her under the venerable name of the Catholic Church; and if need be, of reforming any abuses or errors within the bounds of its own discipline; and so separating the precious from the vile: which power of examining doctrines being forbid by the Church of Rome to her sons, seems to prevent the first occasion and means of reformation,[3] and renders her even

[1] Quicquid ab istis imponatur, sine exceptione recipere, et cæco judicio imperata facere, quantumvis ea blasphema sint atque impia, etiamsi eos jubeant religionem universam extinguere, et Christum ipsum in crucem tollere, et superbum, et contumeliosum et iniquum est, et a principibus Christianis et prudentibus non ferendum. Apol. Eccl. Anglic. (Juelli) § 138.

[2] Quod nullus credit aliquid esse præcise verum, quia vult credere id esse verum, est Augustini in pluribus locis. ..... Non est in potestate hominis libera, facere apparere aliquid suo intellectui esse verum, et facere apparere non esse verum. Pic. Mirandul. Apolog. de libert. credend. Basil. 1519. p. 149.

[3] Παραιτοῦνται τὴν ἐξέτασιν ἵνα φύγωσι τὸν ἔλεγχον. De Eutychianis inter Athanasii opera. Consulatur integer tractatus. Πρὸς τοὺς κελεύοντας ἁπλῶς πιστεύειν τοῖς λέγουσιν καὶ μὴ κατανοεῖν τὸ πρέπον καὶ ἁρμόζον.

The entire passage is as follows:—

Τίς γὰρ τῶν πολεμίων τῆς καθολικῆς Ἐκκλησίας οὐκ ἀξιοῖ πᾶσι τοῖς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ

incorrigible in her errors and corruptions; and remaining so, irreconcilable.

But some do object, that if we allow a right of private judgment, it will be a direct means to establish among us an enthusiastic private spirit which will rely upon its own judgment to the despising all others: and if all may use a private judgment, why may they not follow it and profess it? then you open a window to all divisions and heresies, and render the Church useless, and all her guides.

We answer: It is one thing to use our faculties of discerning in a discreet manner, which includes all due reverence to all those instruments which God and the Church have given us for our direction and conduct: and another thing, to rely on our own prudence, to wrest the scripture to our own sense (as the Council of Trent[1] speaks), which the Church of England first of all detests, every private person being here Art. xx. required to hear and obey the public reason of our church; which being also clear and true, can allow the being searched into; and for that purpose she desires but her sons to open their own eyes. Wherefore the sober use of our own faculties, ought not to be called a private spirit; which judgeth according to the general notices of truth and good, and the common sense of mankind, and the judgment also of the Church: such a spirit "is the candle of the Lord;" not an evil spirit, nor a spirit of innovation, nor dissension, nor a spirit of pride, nor temptation: as many of the Church of Rome blazon it.

As for the growth of schisms and heresies from the use of

λεγομένοις ἀκρίτως πιστένειν; κἂν Ἕλληνα εἴπῃ, κἂν Μανιχαῖον, κἂν Ἀρείου, κἂν Ἀπολιναρίου, κἂν ἄλλου τοιούτου τινὸς κληρόνομον, οὐχὶ παραιτεῖται τὴν ἐξέτασιν, ἵνα φύγῃ τὸν ἔλεγχον; Οὐ τὰ μὲν οἴκοθεν ἐρευγόμενος, τὰ δὲ ἐκ τῆς θείας τῶν γραφῶν ἁρμονίας ἀποκόψας, καὶ πρὸς τὸν οἰκεῖον σκοπὸν ἑλκύσας, προβάλλει μὲν κατασκευὰς, ἃς ὡς βουλέται μηδένα χρῆναι πολυπραγμονεῖν ἀποφαίνεται. Εἶτα ἂν πᾶσιν ἁπλῶς τὰς ἀκοὰς ὑποθήσομεν, καὶ τὴν ἀνακηρύττουσαν ἀφ' ὧν λέγουσιν ἀτοπίαν μηδ' ἐλέγξωμεν μηδὲ τὴν λύσιν τῆς τῶν δογμάτων μάχης τῆς φυομένης διὰ τῆς κακῆς ἑρμηνείας αὐτῶν απαιτήσωμεν· καὶ τίς εὑρήσει λοιπὸν ἔτι ἀληθείας ὁδόν; κ.τ.λ. Athanasii Op. Paris. 1627. tom. ii. p. 326.

[1] Præterea ad coercenda petulantia ingenia, decernit, ut nemo suæ prudentiæ innixus, in rebus fidei et morum ad ædificationem doctrinæ Christianæ pertinentium, sacram scripturam ad suos sensus contorquens, &c.
Conc. Trid. Sess. iv. Decr. 2. Labbe. tom. xiv. col. 747.

such a private judgment as the Church allows; (which objection was anciently made against the Christian Religion, as of
1. 8. old, by Celsus to Origen; unto which was answered, that where any thing was received which was very excellent, such differences were common; as among the Philosophers and Jews, so among Christians; but) these now who make the objection (generally those of the Romish communion) yet know, that though they carry as well as they can an outward show of unity to their people, they have as great divisions as any are: and though indeed the corruption of good things is greatest by the abuse of ill men, this ill consequence through the vice of some, ought not to take away the common right of all, no more than the contentions which arise from the laws should be thought to render them dangerous to be proclaimed. The Christian Religion of itself is sufficient to keep all from error or vice, if all men would comply with its wholesome and pacific decrees (as Arnobius[1] long since hath delivered): and the Church in observance hereof, doth procure her own peace as much as may be, in that all are bound not to publish their private sense to the detriment of public peace; and by her censures hath a power of repressing public dissenters; and in case of doubt arising, our Church wisely sends the parties so doubting to their superiors.[2]

Art. xix. Art. xviii. And whereas God's true religion is but one, the profession of which and no other is absolutely necessary to the being of God's Church, and therein to our salvation; blessed be God, in our church there is abundant care taken of God's holy religion, both by the laws of the kingdom and Church, for the instruction and government of its members unto edification and peace: and every one may be satisfied in his conscience and judgment, of the religion he professeth. Yet, "this

[1] Quod si omnes omnino salutaribus ejus pacificisque decretis aurem vellent commodare paulisper, et non fastu et supercilio luminis, suis potius sensibus, quam illius commonitionibus crederent; universus, jamdudum orbis mitiora in opera conversis usibus ferri, tranquillitate in mollissima degeret, et in concordiam salutarem incorruptis fœderum sanctionibus conveniret.

Arnob. adv. Gent. lib. i. Lugd. Bat. 1651. p. 6.

[2] "And forasmuch as nothing can be so plainly set forth, but doubts may arise in the use and practice of the same; to appease all such diversity, &c., the parties that so doubt or diversely take any thing, shall always resort to the Bishop of the diocese," &c. Preface concerning the Service of the Church.

reserves him not a right of liberty in religion; but only supposeth that he hath a right of trying, examining, and using his best judgment, in order to the satisfying of his conscience: which right, if he duly useth, it will certainly fix him in the true religion; whether that religion be professed by his prince, or nation, or no." *Πάντα δοκιμάζετε.* "Prove or try all things: Hold fast that which is good:" saith the Apostle: "here is a right to try, examine, and judge, but no right of liberty in religion for all that: this trial is only in order to the holding fast that which is good."[1] As the royal coin, no one can refuse, every one may examine, and try the same, before he receives it; "so every Christian keeping himself within the bounds of due obedience and submission to his lawful superiors, hath a judgment of discretion: ['Prove all things; hold fast that which is good.'] He may apply the rule of holy Scripture for his own private instruction, comfort, edification and direction, and for the framing of his life and belief accordingly. The Pastors of the Church [who are placed over God's people as watchmen and guides] have more than this, a judgment of *direction*, to expound and interpret the [holy] Scriptures to others, and out of them to instruct the ignorant, to reduce them who wander out of the right way; to confute errors; to foretell dangers; and to draw sinners to repentance. The chief pastors, to whose care the regiment of the Church is committed in a more special manner, have yet an higher degree of judgment, a judgment of *jurisdiction*, to prescribe, to enjoin, to constitute, to reform, to censure, to condemn, to bind, to loose, judicially, authoritatively, in their respective charges."[2] 1 Thess. v. 21.

Thus the danger of using a private judgment is prevented. If it be further objected, that such a permission is vain, because of the impossibility in the vulgar to make use of it; we answer, that such a mere ineptitude doth not take away one's right.[3] Beside, our gracious God requires of none

[1] Dr. J. Beaumont's (Master of St. Peter's Coll.) Observations upon (Dr. Henry More's) Apol. for his Myst. of Godliness, p. 159.

[2] Bp. Bramhall's Answ. to M. de la Militiere. Dubl. 1676, pp. 33, 34.

[3] Causa hæc est quod ut ratus sit actus, pauciora requiruntur, quam ut recta sit actio.
Grotius de Imp. Summ. Pot. cap. v. sec. 11. p. 224, t. iii. Amst. 1679.

otherwise than according to that ability which he hath given. Wherefore the moderation of our church imitates the grace of God herein; which requires nothing necessarily but what is so clearly propounded as to leave all inexcusable: and therefore those that have skill to look to themselves in the common business of life may discern as much is required: those who have not use of their abilities (the Idiotæ) the moderation of the Church leaves to the mercy of God, and the care of their governors, so far as they are capable: for, as Origen argues, when Celsus objected to the Christians that they did ἀλόγως πιστεύειν,[1] believe without any reason or examination; the contrary thereunto Origen shews at large: "yet of the vulgar," he saith, "indeed it is impossible that all people should attain to the reasons of all doctrines." How can he get wisdom who is "diligent to give the kine fodder?" "Wherefore," saith Origen, "what more compendious way could be contrived to relieve the poor multitude, than the plain doctrine of Jesus? for this we find by experience, that they that before wallowed in vice, thereby now are delivered: but why should the Stoics and Platonists quarrel at Christians for believing, when all of them believe those they apply themselves to, in the sect they judge most excellent?"

Eccius. xxxviii. 26.

10. So great being the moderation of our church; because, nevertheless, as the temper of men generally now is among us, since these licentious times especially have corrupted them, the most are very captious of what hath the semblance of privilege, (and such also are most apt to neglect their duty,) it is very great justice and equity, that all be convinced of

[1] Εἶτα ἐπεὶ τὰ περὶ τῆς πίστεως θρυλλοῦσι, λεκτέον, ὅτι ἡμεῖς μὲν, παραλαμβάνοντες αὐτὴν ὡς χρήσιμον τοῖς πολλοῖς, ὁμολογοῦμεν διδάσκειν πιστεύειν καὶ ἀλόγως τοὺς μὴ δυναμένους πάντα καταλιπεῖν, καὶ ἀκολουθεῖν ἐξετάσει λόγου· ἐκεῖνοι δὲ τοῦτο μὴ ὁμολογοῦντες, τοῖς ἔργοις αὐτὸ ποιοῦσι· τίς γὰρ προτραπεὶς ἐπὶ φιλοσοφίαν καὶ ἀποκληρωτικῶς ἐπί τινα αἱρέσιν ἑαυτὸν φιλοσόφων ῥίψας, ἢ τῷ εὐπορηκέναι τοιουδε διδασκάλου, ἄλλως ἐπὶ τοῦτο ἔρχεται, ἢ τῷ πιστεύειν τὴν αἵρεσιν ἑαυτὸν ἐκείνην κρείττονα εἶναι;

Εἰ δὲ τοῦτ' ἀμήχανον, πῇ μὲν διὰ τὰς τοῦ βίου ἀνάγκας, πῇ δὲ καὶ διὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀσθένειαν, σφόδρα ὀλίγων ἐπὶ τὸν λόγον ἀττόντων· ποία ἂν ἄλλη βελτίων μέθοδος πρὸς τὸ τοῖς πολλοῖς βοηθῆσαι εὑρεθείη, τῆς ἀπὸ τοῦ Ιησοῦ τοῖς ἔθνεσι παραδοθείσης; καὶ πυνθανόμεθά γε περὶ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν πιστευόντων, τὴν πολλὴν χύσιν τῆς κακίας ἀποθεμένων, ἐν ᾗ πρότερον ἐκαλινδοῦντο.

Orig. Op. Par. 1733, tom. i. cont. Cels. lib. i. § 9, 10.

the due submission we also owe to the Church, in reference to this matter: the sum of which duty, I shall lay down in such brief propositions as are agreeable to an easy reason to infer from the comparing of relations.

1. All good Christians who love the Church of God, and its peace, will for truth and conscience' sake, hearken to the Church, and those set over them, on purpose to guide and direct them; especially in case of doubt.

2. Such will well weigh the moments of reasons which the Church offers, and be ready with all due regard to entertain what the Church resolves: and readily also approve of those resolutions, unless it appear manifestly that such determinations contradict the word of God, and the sense of the universal Church; which no good man will unadvisedly conceive, much less seek occasions for exception.

3. In a doubtful and equal case, such will incline to what is publicly determined, because of the relation of superiority between the Church and its members; and because of the many great advantages they know the Church hath in its judgment above themselves; because also the better any are, and the more humble and sincere, the more they are prepared to suspect and distrust their own judgments, and not to lean unto their own understandings. [Prov. iii. 5.]

4. If in any case it should happen that such should differently opine or judge; however, such will afford a practical submission in many cases which they may and ought; the liberty of their own thoughts remaining, which is sufficient, if they cannot but dissent. Modest and pious persons will upon many occasions have their faith to themselves, and reserve their different apprehensions in a continent silence, which is to be wise unto sobriety.

5. If before they come to know the judgment of the Church, they should go about to divulge their sense in speaking or writing, such will do it with submission to the Church, and to those to whom is committed the care of censure. If there should happen such a lawful and necessary occasion which they cannot avoid, to declare their apprehension different from the Church; if the dissenter errs, and cannot submit with consent, he must e'en bear patiently the inconvenience of his error: which, if in a less principal matter on this side

heresy and schism, such an infirmity[1] and temptation incident to human nature happen;[2] they that would retain their integrity, must preserve an entire charity to others: a reverent respect to the Church, and as much as possible an inviolable communion therewith: such ought to endeavour to comply in other points more diligently: such ought to profess their dissent from the Church with great reluctancy and sorrow: they must be very willing to own their error when they are convinced thereof; in the mean while they are bound to lay it aside. Whereby retaining inviolable communion with the Church, such already being in preparation of mind disposed to renounce their error when they know it to be such, are in a hopeful and ready way to be reduced.

Lastly, if the dissenter from the Church err not, but the Church doth manifestly enjoin unjust conditions of its communion; whoever they are who from the word of God catholicly interpreted, and the use of their own reasons come into the profession of the true faith and christian doctrine, if they are divided from that part of the Church which is unjust in its conditions of union, (they themselves not being the cause of the division,) they in very deed, notwithstanding, are united meanwhile to the Church Catholic.

Part 6, p. . I conclude this chapter with that in the "Answer to the Bishop of Condom." "Error as Vice, is for the most part in extremes: we owe respect, teachableness, and submission, unto all them whom God sets over us to instruct us: this is not contested; but this is no reason to change this submission into voluntary blindness, which is rather a spirit of servitude."

[1] Aliquid aliter sapere quam res se habet, humana tentatio est.
Aug. de Bapt. cont. Donat. l. ii. cap. v. Par. 1694, tom. ix.

[2] Qualiter pro hoc ipso falsæ opinionis errore in die judicii puniendi sunt nullus potest scire nisi judex.
Salvianus de Gubern. Dei. Op. Altorf. 1611. lib. v. cap. xiii.

CHAPTER VII.

OF THE MODERATION OF OUR CHURCH IN WHAT RELATES TO THE WORSHIP OF GOD.

Our Prayers are not mingled with controversy. ch. 10.

1. In treating of the moderation of our church in what relates to the divine worship, I first speak of *Prayer*, because the matter of the Sacraments is handled by itself. In our public prayers our church's moderation is apparent, in that it never intended to intermingle matters of doubtful controversy; but hath sufficiently provided for the simplicity of the plainest, and the devotion of the most intelligent: thus our Bishops according to great moderation also, justified our church in their debate with the Presbyterian brethren:[1] "The Church hath been careful to put nothing into the Liturgy, but what is either evidently the word of God, or what hath been generally received in the Catholic Church; neither of which can be called private opinion: and if the contrary can be proved, we wish it out of the Liturgy." Yet, "because," [2]as Bishop Taylor saith, "they could not prophesy, they put in some things which, since then, have been called to question[3] by persons whose interest was highly concerned to find fault with something."[4]

[1] [Vid. Collier's Eccl. Hist. vol. viii. 406.]

[2] Pref. to Apol. for Auth. Forms of Liturgy. Lond. 1828. vol. vii. p. 290.

[3] Donec tandem nuperrime exorti sunt in Anglia morosi, scrupulosi, et delicatuli nimium (ne superstitiosos dicam) homines, quibus Ecclesiæ suæ hactenus usurpata Liturgia visa est, multis sed levissimis nulliusque pene momenti de causis, non improbanda solum verum etiam plane abroganda, et penitus una cum toto Episcoporum Hierarchicho regimine abolenda et obliteranda.
Capelli Theses Theol. in Acad. Salmur. Pt. iii. p. 658. De Liturg. § vii.

[4] Has opto vestes tolli.....quia video illas.....raptas etiam ad materiam contentionis nocentioris multo quam quisquam satis explicaverit.
Buceri Censura in ordinat. eccles. Basil. 1577. p. 458.

They are framed according to a most grave and serious manner, with moderate variety, and proper length.

2. Our prayers are framed both according to a grave, modest, and serious manner: every one of them being moderately short, and all together not immoderately long; and so, more accommodate to render devotion more earnest and intent: and properly intermitted by other parts of divine Service, that by a moderate variety, the devotions of Christians may be both entertained and advantaged. And to stir up devotion in Christian people, they bear in our church a moderate part in the public prayers and praises: for, as Mr. Baxter well notes,[1] "the use of the tongue keepeth awake the mind, and stirreth up God's graces in his servants: it was the decay of zeal in the people, that first shut out Responses:" and so much doth the edification of the people give measure to the appointments of our church, that the parts of divine Service are to be used in the accustomed place of the Church, Chapel, or Chancel; or "in such place as the Bishop of the Diocese, or Ecclesiastical Ordinary of the place shall think meet for the largeness or straitness of the same, so as the people may be most edified."

In the zeal of Reformation our Church did not cast off what was good in itself.

3. The moderation of the Church is always to be admired, that in the heat of Reformation, when the essays were first had for the refining our Liturgy from Romish corruption and innovation, our church was not so transported with zeal, but that it retained what was pious and profitable among the prayers in use: and whereas, generally, oppositions are most fierce at first, and in process of time they become moderate; the excellent temper of our Church was such, it was most moderate at first: which wisdom and mercy of God in tempering the spirits of the first Reformers can never be enough taken notice of. Wherefore the use of some Collects and passages in our Liturgy which before were had in the Romish Communion, is so far from being a real argument against our church, that it is a proper proof of our church's just Reformation, that it maintained its freedom from prejudice and passion in the midst of its zeal. If some parts of the prayers themselves, and liturgy, have been drawn into matter of debate; it is no more than what all words and writings are liable to, when they meet with those who are

[1] Christian Direct. Lond. 1673. p. 856.

concerned to be displeased: but the exceptions against them being such, that (I speak my conscience in what I know) the most probable means to reconcile any to a just apprehension of our Liturgy, and to confirm them in the same, is well to consider the feeble weakness of the exceptions which are used against it: which King James noted long since; How "mighty and vehement informations" against the Common Prayer, were "supported with weak and slender proofs!" "But" saith the King[1] "we were nice or rather jealous, that the public Form thereof should be free, not only from blame, but from suspicion; so as neither the common adversary" should take advantage, nor the "troublesome" at home "cavil;" between which two sorts of adversaries the moderation of the Church hath always been tried. So that all these things considered, Archbishop Cranmer[2] had very good reason to declare, that he with some others he should choose, would, "by God's grace, take upon him to defend not only the Common Prayers of the Church, the ministration of Sacraments, and other rites and ceremonies; but also the doctrine and religion set out by King Edward VI., to be more pure and according to God's word, than any other used in England these thousand years," &c.

In all our Churches there are the same rules.

4. In all the Churches of this Kingdom, Cathedral and Parochial, the Church now hath moderately appointed the same rules and cautions, and the same use among us every where, and those few in number, plain and easy to be understood;[3] whereas the rubrics and orders of the Church of Rome are so innumerable, intricate and various, that scarce an apprenticeship may suffice to learn the practice of them; which, whether it suit with the simplicity of the Christian gospel, may without difficulty be judged. Among us an easy Calendar is prefixed, with few canons and prescriptions, and those very intelligible: wherein, according to an

[1] King James's Proclamation for Uniformity, 1603. [prefixed to Nicholls on the Comm. Prayer.]

[2] Archbishop Cranmer's Letter. [v. Fox's Acts & Mon.]

[3] ["In which Review we have endeavoured to observe the like Moderation, as we find to have been used in the like case in former times."] Pref. to Bk. of Comm. Prayer.

excellent moderation, the people have their parts for excitation sake, and to unite their affections; although nowhere in what is properly ministerial.

Common Prayers for the vulgar required in English. To Ministers and Scholars a just and moderate liberty allowed.

5. The moderation of our church is sufficiently known to the whole world, in requiring our Common Prayers to be in the "vulgar tongue," for the general benefit of all, according to our twenty-fourth Article: "It is a thing plainly repugnant to the word of God, and the custom of the Primitive Church, to have public Prayer in the Church, or to administer the Sacraments in a tongue not understood of the people." Which Article is further confirmed and proved in the Homilies, especially in that "of Common Prayer and Sacraments;" from the nature and end of prayer; resolving also, "as for the time since Christ, till that usurped power of Rome began to spread itself, and to enforce all the nations of Europe to have the Romish language in admiration, it appeareth by the consent of the most ancient and learned writers, there was no strange tongue used in the congregation of Christians."

Yet for the same reason that common people should have their prayers in English among us, those who have been educated in sufficient learning are allowed to use them in another tongue: as in "Universities and Colleges." The use of the Latin form of Prayers is also commended to the Ministers of the Church of England, by Queen Elizabeth's Letters dated April 6, 1560.[1] In all which, the moderation of our church doth comply, as the Queen's Letters doth express it, "with the necessity of those who do not understand other tongues, and the desire of those who do."

[1] [Eadem etiam formula Latina precandi privatim uti, hortamur omnes reliquos Ecclesiæ nostræ Anglicanæ ministros, cujuscunque gradus fuerint, iis diebus quibus aut non solent, aut non tenentur Parochianis suis ad ædem sacram pro more accedentibus, publice preces vernacula lingua, secundum formam dicti Statuti recitare.]

Præf. ad Celeb. Cœn. Dom. in Funeb. Bp. Sparrow's Collect. Lond. 1661.

["Though it be appointed, that all things shall be read and sung in the Church in the English tongue, to the end that the congregation may be thereby edified; yet it is not meant, but that when men say Morning and Evening Prayer privately, they may say the same in any language that they themselves do understand."]

First Rubric before the Pref. of Ceremonies.

The obligation of the Church leaves the method of private devotions to a general liberty.

6. Notwithstanding, the Church hath provided most excellent prayers, for the use of private devotion upon all general occasions, and what is readily and properly applicable to more occasions particular; yet the moderation of the Church hath not thought fit, any where to bind all who are of her communion to the use of her Common Prayers in private families or closets.

The Rubric which enjoins "all Priests and Deacons to say daily the Morning and Evening Prayer, either privately or openly," is set down with great moderation: "not being let by sickness or some other urgent cause." In the family, or in the visitation of the sick, if the particular condition of one or other do require it; and in private, in the closet; it is not supposed by our church, but that every one may ask his own wants in what form of words he shall think fit.[1] The consideration of which liberty indulged by the Church, caused I suppose another excellent writer[2] thus also to express himself: "It is possible also, that some may judge this whole work to be but a needless labour, since they have the Book of Common Prayers at hand, which they can use at home as well as in the church. With these persons I shall not contend, but only deliver my opinion freely about this matter; which is, that the reverence due to that book will be best preserved, by employing it only in the public Divine Service; or in the private, where there is a priest to officiate. However, the design of it is not to furnish the people with prayers for all those particular occasions, wherein devout souls would make their requests [known] to God; and the constant opinion of pious Divines, in this and in other churches, we see, by their writings, hath been; that other books of prayers [which they have composed] are necessary for the flock of Christ, besides their public liturgy:" though in the choice of such prayers as are so accommodate to the occasions of human life, and such cases as are incidental to the spiritual needs and circumstances of Christian people, there hath been sometimes wished some further advice and recommendation made common by authority.

[1] Pract. Catech. by H. Hammond, D.D. Sect. 2, of Prayer, vol. i. p. 101. Lond. 1674.

[2] Devout Christian by Dr. S. Patrick. Lond. 1674.

The fifty-fifth Canon thus directs, "That before all Sermons, Lectures, and Homilies, the Preachers and Ministers shall move the people to join with them [in prayer] in this Form; or to this effect; as briefly as conveniently they may: *in hunc aut similem modum.* The title in the latin Canons is, *Precationis formula a concionatoribus in Concionum suarum ingressu imitanda*: In the english Canons, the title is, The Form of a Prayer to be used by all preachers before their sermons.[1] From all which I only note, that the moderation of the Church is certain and undoubted: but, the disagreeing variety in practice consequent thereon, whether it be so convenient, it remains for superiors to judge.

Of the moderation of the Church, in appointing her hours and times of Prayer.

7. Although some of the ancient Christians used the distinction of "hours of prayer," which at first was thought orderly and useful, as a voluntary task; and determining of the Christian liberty of those, who profess God's "service is perfect freedom;" yet, our church considering the common employment of most, and the natural infirmities of all, hath appointed and required only a daily sacrifice of Morning and Evening Service, as of constant observance; not excluding, but inviting, other voluntary oblations of a sincere devotion to God according to our leisure and opportunity. But our church doth nowhere countenance "the novelties of those that put any trust in the bare recital only of few Prayers,[2] or place any virtue in the bead-roll, or certain number of them at such and such [set] hours;" notwithstanding many of the said prayers are also directed otherwise than Prayers should be.

In her use and judgment of Sermons.

8. Although, according to the judgment of the Church, and in truth, the entire worship of God is complete in the Divine Service of the Church; even as among the Jews, sacrifices, prayers, and thanksgivings made up the entire notion of divine worship; so under the Gospel, the sacrifices of prayer and thanksgiving do absolutely complete the worship of God: yet our church judgeth according to an

[1] Constit. sive Canon. Eccl. Lond. 1604. Bp. Sparrow's Coll.

[2] Of the ancient and accustomed Times of Prayer, by John Cosins, D.D. Bp. of Durham. Lond. 1655. p. 5.

excellent temper of the use and necessity of Sermons, acknowledging their great use as occasion requires, to convince, reprove, to excite and comfort Christian people. Let Archbishop Laud be heard for once by those who have doubted his judgment in this matter:[1] "I ever took sermons and [so] do still, to be most necessary expositions and applications of holy Scripture, and a great ordinary means of" salvation: to the same purpose, Hooker's Eccles. Pol.[2] l. ii. § 22. Neither hath the Church of God ever had any where more useful, practical, and judicious preachers than those, who, with the Church of England, have thus ingenuously and equally judged of the use and necessity of preaching: on one hand esteeming its real use and benefit; on the other hand, not judging it the chief exercise of religion, and the worship of God: nor allowing, that for the hearing of a sermon, "which spends its life in its birth,"[3] as Mr. Hooker saith, "the prayers of the Church should be slighted, neglected, or mangled."[4]

At the Conference at Hampton Court, the Bishop of London humbly desired his Majesty, "that there might be a praying ministry among us, it being now come to pass, that men think it the only duty of ministers to spend their time in the pulpit. "I confess," saith he, "in a Church newly to be planted, preaching is most necessary; not so in one long established, that prayer should be neglected."[5] "I like," saith King James, "your motion exceeding well, and dislike the hypocrisy of our time who place all religion in the ear."

[1] Archbishop Laud agt. Fisher, § 16. Num. 31. p. 81. Oxf. 1839.

[2] ["So worthy a part of divine service we should greatly wrong, if we did not esteem preaching as the blessed ordinance of God; sermons as keys to the kingdom of heaven, as wings to the soul, as spurs to the good affections of man; unto the sound and healthy as food, as physic unto diseased minds."]
Eccl. Pol. lib. v. xxii. 8. Oxf. 1841.

[3] [Eccl. Pol. V. xxi.]

[4] Psalmos duntaxat, nullo servato ordine canunt, et ex scripturis vage, quod ministro placet, legunt; et in concione sola totum ferme divini cultus ritum collocant, absterrentque plebem puritanam, ne ad certas preces, sicuti pristino more peragantur, accedat, sola concione contenta. Non tales erant antiquæ piæ et catholicæ Synaxes.
Ant. de Dominis, Op. Hanov. 1622. tom. iii. lib. vii. c. 12. p. 313.

[5] [Sum of Conference by Wm. Barlow, D.D. Lond. 1638. pp. 54, 55.]

At the very dawning also of the Reformation, preaching was also especially useful, and few were exercised therein, and had a right skill therein: which made the "Institution of a Christian man," set out 1537, because of the difficulty thereof, say: "Surely the office of preaching is the chief and most principal office whereunto priests or bishops be called by the authority of the gospel:" though by preaching there might be meant, the annunciation of the gospel, which is done by lively reading of the Scriptures, and in sundry other ministerial offices. Wherefore in the Church of England, we have the lively Oracles of the Holy Scriptures declared and read among us:[1] we have catechising, and expositions on the Church Catechism: we have also excellent Homilies, too much despised for their plainness; yet the same which Bucer[2] magnified, as short and wholesome sermons; "not only for the help of non-preaching ministers, but withal a pattern, and, as it were, a boundary for the preaching ministers," as King James hath it in his Directions, 1623:[3] of which how modestly and moderately doth the Church herself speak in its thirty-fifth Article; that they "contain a godly and wholesome doctrine, necessary for these times."

We have also the lives and counsels of the Church's ministers, which are living sermons too;[4] so that among us we have all sorts of preaching, if the commonness of it did not make it despised. Great care also is taken for other sermons too:[5] yea, our church hath used all possible means, that the preaching of her ministers may be useful, and as they ought to be, as appears from the exhortations which are made at the Ordinations of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons; and the subscriptions which are made before the Bishops;

[1] Coimus ad literarum divinarum commemorationem; si quid præsentium temporum qualitas aut præmonere cogit, aut recognoscere.

Tertull. Apol. Op. Lutet. Par. 1664. cap. xxxix.

[2] Quid enim illi faciant aut patiantur, pro nomine Servatoris nostri Jesu Christi, qui non sustineant audire erectis animis et cupidis tam breves easque tam salutares Homilias totas?

Buceri Censura in ordinat. eccles. Basil. 1577. cap. vii. p. 466.

[3] [Collier's Eccl. Hist. Lond. 1840. vol. vii. p. 424.]

[4] Vereor ne paucæ extent in regno vivæ conciones. Calv. ep. 87. Protect. Angl. Lausann. 1576.

[5] Canon 45, 46. Rubric after the Nicene Creed.

which are also incomparably enforced by[1] their Majesties' directions from time to time; as hath been instanced, Ch. vi. § 5. notwithstanding, many are of the mind with those in Scotland, who esteemed the directions of King James to preachers, to be "limiting of the Spirit of God."[2] What would they have thought of the Proclamation of King Edward VI., which inhibited all preaching throughout the kingdom, that the clergy might apply themselves unto Prayer? the copy of which Inhibition is in "Fuller's Church History."[3]

In the Preface to the "Directory" we see the Prelates accused for the crime of making preaching inferior to the Common Prayer; which charge contains a fallacy like that of a complex interrogation; for our Liturgy doth not exclude but suppose and require preaching; and doth contain in its daily Offices sundry sorts of real preaching: beside, among professed Christians, ought preaching to contend with prayer, either as to the necessity of it, or dignity; when prayer is our duty to God immediately, and doth suppose people already instructed?

In the notes on the "view of the Civil and Ecclesiastical Law,"[4] it is very well concluded, "All this while we should not detract any thing from preaching, considering ourselves to live under a state so maturely composed, and so thoroughly advised and settled in the faith; it would be expected, that we should so far moderate our opinion of preaching, as that our magnifying thereof may no way tend to the discredit or disadvantage of most necessary prayer."

Our church doth not admit to the office of preaching any but who are ordained and licensed thereunto: yet our church doth allow such kind of sermons as we call in the Colleges, 'Common places,' for the training up of candidates in Divinity, and for their trial of skill before competent judges.

The Moderation in our church is further known, in that

[1] 1571. ["De Episcopis," et "De Concionatoribus."] Lib. quorund. Canon. Bp. Sparrow's Coll. Queen Elizabeth's Artic. for doctrine and preaching, 1654. [in "Advertisements," &c. Bp. Sparrow's Coll.]

[2] Hist. of Ch. of Scotl. by Abp. Spotswood, p. 543. Lond. 1677.

[3] (Thos.) Fuller's Church Hist. ad ann. 1548. p. 388. Lond. 1655.

[4] [By Sir Thos. Ridley, Knt. D.C.L. Oxf. 1675. Pt. iii. &c. p. 272.]

among us, its ministers are not expected, nor do they endeavour to take the people in their preaching by mysterious nonsense, or by storm and sensible noises, and uncouth tones and grimaces, whereby a tumult and confusion is raised in the animal passions; scaring weak people almost out of their wits and common sense: just as the Valentinian heretics[1] used hard words and thundering noises in their conventicles to cause astonishment in the people.[2] Our design is otherwise; by a rational and sober surrender of their minds to gain our hearers to truth and goodness: whence it follows, that among such, as Mr. Hooker well notes,[3] "the vigour and efficacy of sermons do grow from certain accidents, which are not in them but in their maker: his virtue, his gesture, his countenance, his zeal, the motion of his body, and the inflection of his voice [who first uttereth them as his own, is that which giveth them the form, the nature, the very essence of instruments available to eternal life."]

Here it is not improper also to justify the moderation and good reason our church hath, for the distinction it hath made between "a preaching," and a "non-preaching Minister;"[4] who, though he be not so profoundly learned as others, (of which learned sort, blessed be God, we have some good abundance,) yet if he be blameless in his life, and faithful in his office, and observant of the appointments of the Church; by the grace of God there are so many helps ready provided by the wisdom of the Church among us, that a not-preaching Minister may perform a ministerial office, both for the necessary edification of the people, and the just satisfaction of the Church, more than many preaching ministers, of whose discretion and wise order the Church cannot be so well secured. Hear we Archbishop Whitgift: [5] "I am fully

[1] πρὸς τὸ μᾶλλον καταπλήξασθαι τοὺς τελουμένους.
Euseb. Hist. Cantab. 1720. lib. iv. cap. xi. p. 156.

[2] Nihil tam facile, quam vilem plebeculam et indoctam concionem, linguæ volubilitate decipere, quæ quicquid non intelligit plus miratur.
Hieron. Op. Basil. 1537. Ep. ad Nepotian. de Vit. Cler. tom. i. p. 14.

[3] Hooker's Eccl. Pol. bk. V. xxii. 19. Oxf. 1841.

[4] ["And how that all they which are appointed Ministers have not the gift of preaching sufficiently to instruct the people which is committed unto them," &c.
Pref. to the Hom.]

[5] Whitgift's Answ. to Admon. Lond. 1572. p. 83.

persuaded, That he cometh nearer [to the fulfilling of] the mind of the Apostle, which diligently studying and labouring continually for knowledge, doth orderly, learnedly, and effectually preach once in the month, than such as backbiting at other men's tables, running all the day long up and down the streets, seldom or never studying, do negligently, inorderly, verbally, (if I may so term it) preach every day twice.

For though no Church doth more promote and encourage the proficiency of her sons in all useful literature, yet the Church thinks it not reason to reject the ministry of a not-preaching Minister, otherwise reasonably qualified, where it is necessary; especially when, as the Church declares, the Sacraments are effectually administered by them that have not the gift of preaching. The care of the Church is also to be taken notice of in requiring those who are beneficed to procure at least a sermon to the people, once a month: and especially there being wholesome Homilies for the other days, the Church hath done her part in providing for the spiritual sustenance of her children, both for their necessity and entertainment: and those who can preach, as (blessed be God) there are many, think it their duty to do the same frequently and constantly.

In what is required of people with reference to their Parish Church.

9. The order of the Church is also that none neglect their own "parish Church:" and, with great reason, to avoid unspeakable confusion. Yet even in[1] Q. Elizabeth's Injunctions, the precept is expressed with this indulgence, "Except it be by the occasion of some extraordinary sermon in some parish of the same town:" and in the Articles for inquiry, in the first year of her reign; one was,[2] "Whether you know any that in contempt of their own parish church, do resort to any other church:" so in the Homily,[3] 'tis said, that "to the said House or Temple of God, at all times, by common order appointed, are all people that be godly indeed, bound with all diligence to resort; unless by sickness, or other most

1559. § 33.

[1] 1 Eliz. c. ii. 14. Statutes at large, vol. ii. p. 515. ed. 1763. 35 Eliz. c. i. Stat. vol. ii. p. 671.

[2] Bp. Sparrow's Coll. p. 73.

[3] Hom. of the right use of the Church, Pt. i.

urgent causes, they be letted therefrom:" so willing was always our Church, and the constitution of the Kingdom, to allow all reasonable liberty, provided it might not be abused. "No man," saith the Bishop of Londonderry, in his 'Vindication,' "was ever punished for instructing his own family, but it may be for holding unlawful conventicles; or for instructing them in seditious, schismatical, or heretical principles: nor for going to the next parish to hear a sermon; thousands did it daily, and never suffered for it: but it may be, for neglecting or deserting his parish church,[1] and gadding up and down after non-conformists, and strange unknown forms of serving God."

The excellent moderation of the Church in her orders for the reverent reading of Divine Service, and consecrating the Sacraments in such a voice as may be heard.

10. Because, as Bucer observed, too many did not in the reading or reciting the divine Service, use that devout, reverent, and intelligible manner as was fit; the special care of the Church hath always been very great of this, as appears from the "Admonition to all Ministers Ecclesiastical," in the beginning of the second Part of the Homilies;[2] and in Queen Elizabeth's Injunctions (1559); and in the several Articles for inquiry:[3] by all which all care is taken, [4]"that all Ministers, and Readers of public Prayers, Chapters, and Homilies, shall be charged to read openly, plainly, and distinctly;" and the Rubric requires the Minister, "to read the Lessons standing, and turning himself so as he may best be heard of all such as are present," which precepts contain as much as the general Missal[5] Rubrics, which require the Priest to

[1] VI. Sextum caput continet pernecessariam disciplinam nostræ religionis ut quisque in parochia sua sacris cœtibus frequens adsit; et ibi Christi ceremoniis religiose vacet, Sacramentaque omnia percipiat, et ut qui hæc facere negligat excommunicetur, aliasque justas pœnas persolvat.

M. Buceri in ordinat. Ecclesiast. Censura. Basil. 1577. cap. iii. p. 461.

[2] ["It shall be necessary that ye above all other do behave yourselves most faithfully and diligently in your so high a function; that is, aptly, plainly, and distinctly to read the sacred Scriptures," &c.] Admon. bef. 2nd Bk. of Hom.

[3] 3rd Artic. of enquiry, 1559. p. 235. Bp. Sparrow's Coll.

[4] xxxvth Artic. of Religion.

[5] Satis liquet omnino requiri, ut Ministri Ecclesiarum has preces, Psalmos et lectiones recitent summa gravitate, et religione, diserte quoque et perspicue.

Bucer. de Ordin. Eccl. Anglic. c. i. p. 457.

Adsit vero alacritas, adsit cum ore cor psallentium, canatur ac legatur articulatim, explanate et reverendo gestu ad ædificationem orantis interea Laici.

Wicelii Method. Concord. Eccl. Lond. 1625. c. 17. p. 56.

read neither too precipitantly fast, nor too morosely slow; with a voice mean and grave, fit to excite devotion, and which is accommodate to the hearers.

But whereas in the Mass, the Romanists are enjoined a secret and private whispering; in our church it is otherwise ordered for the common benefit: which Order our Homily "of the Common Prayer and Sacraments" defends, from divers testimonies of scriptures and doctors, and the Constitution of Justinian,[1] who lived 527 years after Christ, which is this: "We command that all Bishops and Priests do celebrate the holy oblation, and the prayers [used] in holy Baptism, not speaking low, but with a clear or loud voice which may be heard of the people; that thereby the minds of the hearers may be stirred up with great devotion in uttering the prayers of the Lord God, for so that the holy Apostle teacheth us in his first epistle to the Corinthians, therefore for these causes it is convenient, that among other prayers, those things also which are spoken in the holy Oblation, be uttered and spoken, of the most religious priests, unto our Lord Jesus Christ our God, with the [Father and the] Holy Ghost, with a loud voice." Which is, as our Homily takes notice, "a plain Decree" of Justinian, "for Praying and Administering of Sacraments in a known tongue, contrary to the opinion of them that would have ignorance [to] make devotion."

To this head of right reading the divine Service, belongs the Order of our Church to use the divine Service in public, as Order hath prescribed:[2] not "chopping and changing, adding and plucking away;" as the Homily speaks of the Romanists, "intermingling their own traditions."[3] Yet though the Church doth not allow her clergy to mangle her Offices; yet, where need is, remissions are allowed; as in the Office of private Baptism, Communion of the sick, and the like. And if any liberties left to the prudence and discretion of the ministers be a proper instance of the moderation of the Church, many might be given which are allowed, with which such may be contented: as in some cases where some

[1] Justin. Novel. Constit. 23.

[2] Non transcurrendo ceu syncopando. Syn. Ling. 1404. Can. 14.

[3] 2nd Pt. of the Hom. for Whit Sunday.

present resolution and practice is required; in other matters of less concern, where an indifferent variety is allowed; but more instances there are of what is left to the discretion of the Ordinary.[1]

In her form and use of Catechising.

11. Having spoken of the moderation and wisdom of the Church in what relates to sermons; because Catechising[2] is an useful sort of preaching, I cannot but note the moderation of the Church in framing such a form of Catechism as the ancient Fathers[3] commended: so full and comprehensive is the exposition of the foundations of our religion, and yet without those curious questions which are not needful to trouble the green heads of those who are to be catechised; however, which are not to be set forth as fundamental. This was the excellent judgment of King James,[4] who approved of one "uniform Catechism, in the fewest and plainest affirmative terms that may be;" "all curious and deep questions" being "avoided:" not like "the ignorant catechisms in Scotland," "set out by every one who was the son of a good man." Thus the judicious[5] Bishop Sanderson, for the "peace of the Church," and to preserve unity and charity, his third direction is, That "Catechisms [for so much as they are intended for the instruction of children and ignorant persons in the first principles of Christian religion] should not be farced with School points and private tenets, but contain only clear and undoubted Truths, [and such as are necessary

[1] See the Preface "concerning the Service of the Church:" Canon 53: Second Rubric before the Preface of the Ceremonies: Admon. to Min. Eccles. before the 2nd Pt. of the Hom.: Sundry Rubrics.

[2] Canon 59. 1603.

["Quivis Rector Ecclesiæ.... exhibebit episcopo..nomina..parochianorum.. qui subire examen ecclesiastici ministri de ediscendo catechismo et articulis Christianæ religionis detractaverint."]

Lib. quorund. Canon 1571. p. 24. Bp. Sparrow's Coll.

[Cuncta summatim generatimque complecti, ita ut eligant quædam mirabiliora quæ suavius audiuntur, atque in ipsis articulis constituuntur.]

August. Op. Basil. 1541. De Catechizand. rudibus. cap. iii. t. iv. col. 896.

[3] S. Ambros. de iis qui S. Mysteriis initiantur. Basil. 1555. t. iv.

[4] Conf. at Hampton Court [by W. Barlow, D.D. Lond. 1638. p. 44.]

[5] Pax Ecclesiæ, p. 53. § 3. Lond. 1678.

unto Christian edification either in faith or life]. Whereas the church of Rome and many other sects have stuffed their catechisms with some of their private opinions; even so much, that sometimes their catechisms are not only to contain the sums of Christianity, but they are the distinctive notes of their party, in maintaining which, some of them place so great a part of religion: and therefore no wonder, if according to their great wisdom in other things, they enamel their catechisms with what is to them so precious."

I shall only here add, what Dr. Hammond saith of this our Church Catechism:[1] "If we would all keep ourselves within that Moderation, and propose no larger catalogue of [Articles] credenda to be believed by all, than the Apostles' Creed, as it is explained in our Catechism, [doth propose] and lay the greater weight upon the vow of Baptism, and all the commands of God as they are explained [and so the obligation to obedience inlarged] by Christ, and [then] only the explication [of the nature] and use of the Sacraments, in those most commodious and intelligible expressions (and none other) which are there set down; I should be confident there would be less hating and damning one another, [which is most ordinarily for opinions,] more piety and charity, and so, true Christianity, among Christians and Protestants, than hitherto have been met with."

The interest of inward and outward worship, are both secured according to an excellent moderation in our Church.

12. This chapter ought not to be dismissed before we take notice, how the interest both of the inward and outward worship of God, is according to a just moderation secured in our church.

For first, in all the instructions and precepts of the Church, her designs and intent appear very sincere to promote the worship of God according to his will: wherefore our church makes none else partakers of the divine worship; as neither saints nor angels, nor the blessed Virgin.

The Ceremonies (as will be further shewed) are not held by our church as any part of the Divine worship; but only outward signs and helps of devotion. Our church lays also greatest stress upon the inward affection and intention of the

[1] Vindic. of Anc. Lit. of Ch. of Eng. § 40. H. Hammond, D.D. Lond. 1674. p. 155.

mind, as the most necessary and principal part of the Divine worship; as that which only can render all outward expressions of our honour of God acceptable: because in the affection of the heart is the consummation of all moral goodness;[1] especially in the worship of God; for the best Being is to be served with the most excellent operations of our best faculties; therefore God, who is the most excellent, most infinite, and most pure Spirit, must be worshipped "in spirit and in truth:" in due regard to which just consideration, all the Offices of our church are framed so as to promote chiefly a due sense of God, and of the Divine attributes; a heavenly and spiritual disposition of mind, a real and unaffected piety, a sincere and hearty devotion: for, as the Homily saith,[2] "Without a single eye, pure intent, and good mind, nothing is allowed for good before God." But, notwithstanding the inward worship of the heart is held most necessary and principal; in our church is instantly required the outward worship of God also: as in all acts of outward as well as inward obedience; in many of which, the affection cannot be sincere, without the outward exercise of such acts, when they can be performed: as in consecrating, also, a just portion of our time and estates to the honour of God; the humble service of our bodies; reverend gestures and behaviour, which are but proper and fit to increase in ourselves and others the inward honour of God also. In respect to both these parts of worship, those who duly honour God, may be fitly denominated "devout" persons; but the probable reason why many who call themselves Saints, do disdain the name of "devout," is, because the attribute of Devotion seems to intimate also the outward reverent behaviour of body, as the necessary companion of the inward integrity of the mind; which outward reverence such judge too meanly of.

Lastly, in our church, the worship of God is supposed to proceed, not so much from a principle of fear and dread, as of love and thankfulness: whereas some, in a way to overthrow all religion, have given out, That the fear of God is only the dread men have of some unknown, arbitrary, and uncontroll-

[1] Actus exterior nihil addit ad bonitatem vel malitiam super actum interiorem. D. Tho. Aquinatis 1. 2dæ. Quæst. xx. Art. iv.

[2] Of Holy Scripture, Pt. i.

able power : such a fear, they suppose the only motive to the worship of God ; the only foundation and bond of justice : an experiment taken up to keep men obedient to laws. The moderation of our church governs itself very justly in this matter, accounting the due fear of the sovereignty and power of God very useful to the good as well as the bad, to make all heedful and careful in their duty : therefore in the Office of " Commination," as in many other places also, the threats of God against impenitent sinners are by our Church denounced. Yet the first and the chief reason of our worship of God is frequently owned, in the Offices of our Church, and supposed to be a sense of the infinite Divine excellencies, and His constant bounty and benefits, and gracious goodness to mankind, especially in our Lord Jesus Christ; which of themselves are sufficient motives to religion, and make the same proceed from the most free, and most suitable, and noble principle that can be, of affection and thankfulness to God.

The Moderation of the Church in what relates to Oaths.

13. Because an Oath is an act of Divine worship, in which we solemnly invoke God as a witness to what we swear, it is but proper here to take notice of the moderation of our church in what relates to oaths.

1. Our Church doth, in the thirty-ninth Article of Religion, excellently declare, and in the " Homily against Perjury," at large prove, the lawfulness and benefits of swearing for causes " necessary and honest, and for the ending of controversy," and sets forth also the sore danger of perjury.

2. Our church doth at large testify against customary and unnecessary swearing, and the mentioned Homily declares the danger and vanity thereof. Both these purposes of the Homily are briefly contained in the thirty-ninth Article, thus : " As we confess that vain and rash swearing is forbidden Christian men by our Lord Jesus Christ, and James his Apostle : so we judge, That Christian Religion doth not prohibit, but that a man may swear when the Magistrate requireth, in a cause of faith and charity, so it be done according to the Prophet's teaching, in justice, judgment, and truth." In a few lines also of the Homily, our church seems fully to determine the whole controversy which our

sectaries have raised concerning swearing: "When Christ so earnestly forbad swearing, it may not be understood, as though he did forbid all manner of oaths: but he forbiddeth all vain swearing and forswearing, both by God, and by his creatures; as the common use of swearing in buying, selling, and in our daily communication; to the intent every Christian man's word should be as well regarded in such matters, as if he confirmed his communication with an oath. For truth it is (as Theophylactus writeth) that no man is less trusted than he that useth much to swear."[1]

Beside the practice of the Gentiles to swear by creatures, the Jews had fallen into that custom which gave our Saviour and St. James occasion to forbid such kind of swearing, which also was in use among the Manichees, as St. Augustine notes.[2] Seeing then all swearing by the creatures is counted by the Homily vain-swearing, it can be deemed no other, to swear by the [3]Blessed Virgin, or by Saints, or their reliques; since they have no delegated power to know our hearts, or to punish perjury. At the solemn inauguration of the Emperor, he saith, "I swear unto God, and St. Peter," &c. When any enter into a monastery, they say: "I vow unto God, and to the blessed Virgin," and to St. Dominic: or some other their particular Saint.

Matt. v. 34. James v. 12.

3. Concerning the matter and obligation of lawful and unlawful oaths, we may hear our church excellently advising and declaring: "Therefore, whosoever maketh any promise, binding himself thereunto by an oath, let him foresee, that the thing he promiseth be good and honest, and not against the commandment of God, and that it be in his own power to perform it justly; and such promises must men keep evermore assuredly: but if a man at any time, shall either of ignorance, or of malice, promise and swear to do anything, which is either against the law of Almighty God, or not in his power to perform, let him take it for an unlawful oath." Of an

[1] Hom. agt. Swearing and Perj. Pt. i.

[2] Jurabant sæpissime nulloque mentis scrupulo per creaturas. C. Faust. 22.

[3] V. Catechism. Concil. Trident. Pars iii. cap. vi. Antuerp. 1606. [Est etiam illud jusjurandum, cum ad faciendam fidem per res creatas juramus, ut, per sacra Dei evangelia, per Crucem, per Sanctorum reliquias et nomen, et cætera id genus.]

unlawful oath the same Homily determines in the case of Herod, that "as he took a wicked oath, so he more wickedly performed the same." These full and just determinations of the Church might be fitly commented on by what Bishop Sanderson hath writ of the obligation of oaths, especially in his third Prelection: and may very justly also be applied to the case of the solemn League and Covenant, which sufficiently justifies the abjuration of the Covenant, as it is required in the Act of Uniformity. Ch. iv. 2.

4. Our Church lays a great charge and weight on the words of the Prophet Jeremiah: "Thou shalt swear in judgment, truth, and righteousness:" ["So that] whosoever sweareth, [when he is required of a judge,] let him be sure in his conscience, that his oath have these three conditions; [and he shall never need to be afraid of perjury;"] which also are mentioned in the thirty-ninth Article, and largely insisted on in the Homily.[1] All which do sufficiently testify against the equivocations, and mental reservations which the Jesuits allow and defend: which is a most notorious artifice of deceit, a great profanation of the divine name, and contrary to the nature and end of Oaths.

And that we may observe how rightly our church judgeth of the power of the Pope, or of any other, in rescinding and dispensing with lawful oaths,[2] (yea, dispensing with men aforehand, to make unlawful oaths and vows; as in Marriages within the degrees Levitical,) [3]the sixth part of the Homily against wilful rebellion, speaking of the Bishops of Rome discharging the subjects of the kings of England of their oath of Fidelity to their Sovereign Lord, (as particularly, Innocent III. to King John,) calls it fitly, a "feigned discharging" of their oath and fealty: and a "vain" cursing of

[1] Hom. agt. Swearing and Perj. Pt. i.

[2] Vi. Duo brevia Pontificis Ro. 1. dat. 1606. 2. dat. 1607. contra juram. Fidel. in R. Jac. Apologia.

[In Matthæi Torti Responsione. 1608. pp. 12. and 48.]

[3] ["Wherefore we do admonish you that you do utterly abstain from taking this and the like oaths: which thing we do the more earnestly require of you, because we have experience of the constancy of your faith, which is tried like gold in the fire, a perpetual tribulation."]

K. James' Works. Lond. 1616. Apol. for Oaths of Alleg. p. 250.

Apol. of certain Proceedings in Courts Eccles. p. 3. c. 2. p. 18.

By Richard Cosin, D.D Lond. 1593.

the King. Which practices of the Popes, rely upon two principles of the church of Rome.

First: that the Pope hath an absolute and œcumenical authority over the whole world, and that all oaths are to be taken with a reserve of his pleasure: and that he hath the sole power to declare and dispense in what relates unto them. Secondly: that faith is not to be kept with heretics: which doctrines are published in the books of the famous Romanists; neither prohibited nor animadverted on.[1]

In interpreting oaths, as our church doth not encourage any loose sense, that the taker by any evasion may collude the design of the law: so also our church rejects such rigid interpretations, which force the words to a severe sense: but where a fair and easy construction may be made by the natural interpretation of the words, which is agreeable to truth and justice, and may secure the intention of superiors, such a construction our church is ready to allow of and encourage.[2]

5. The general oaths enjoined or defended in our church are but few, and those for great causes appointed, and with great moderation framed; as, 1. The oaths of "Allegiance and Supremacy;" the necessity and moderation of which, hath been largely expounded in the "Apology of King James" and others:[3] since which, the artifice of the Romanists hath had great effect on our sectaries, in their obstinate refusing the said oath of supremacy, whereby they are become the more prepared for the Papacy. And that we may see how the Romanists and the Sectaries are united in their first principles, and how both become more obstinate even the more moderation is used to either, their refusing together the

[1] Accedit eodem, quod cum hæreticis nullum commercium, nec pax ulla catholicis esse debet: quamobrem fides illis data, etiam juramento firmata, contra publicum bonum, contra salutem animarum, contra jura divina et humana, nullo modo servanda est.

Jac. Simancæ de Cathol. Inst. Rom. 1575. Tit. xlvi. § 53.

[2] Q. Eliz. Injunctions, 1559. Admon. to Simple Men, &c. p. 77. (Bp. Sparrow's Coll. Lond. 1547.) xxxvii. Artic. of Rel.

[3] See the Admonition of Q. Eliz. 1559. of the Oath of Supremacy. (Bp. Sparrow's Coll. p. 77.)

Ita quod paulo ante turpe ac absurdum videbatur fœminæ ascribere ut dicatur, Caput Ecclesiæ, nunc mitius ac moderatius est, quam hoc ipsum quod illius appellationis loco substitutum est.

Nic. Sander. de Schism. Angl. Col. Agr. 1585. p. 149.

Oath of Allegiance is too undoubted a testimony. Yea, of the moderation of his Majesty's Government, and the immoderate obstinacy of the governing part of the Romish Clergy, the history of Father Walsh concerning the Loyal Formulary in Ireland, will be an eternal monument; which sheweth at 1666. large with what art and industry the desire of the more peaceable Romanists was opposed, even from the Roman Cardinals and other their Superiors, to give his Majesty but the security of their allegiance, in a brief and very moderate form.

2. The Oath against Simony[1] doth justify the integrity of our church, and the laws in that behalf, and that all the endeavour possible is used to prevent all guilt of simony in the Clergy.

3. The oath of "Canonical obedience" is offered unto all with that most moderate and just clause, "In all things lawful and honest:" which canonical obedience is no other than is sworn in other Reformed churches, as appears by the form set down by D. D. Durell.[2]

4. In the oath of "continual residence" in a vicarage, half the clause is for the moderating the oath: "unless" it shall be otherwise dispensed by the Diocesan.[3]

Many object earnestly against the oath which the "Churchwardens" are obliged to take: whereas such are to consider, the nature and end of their office cannot well be procured but by obliging them in that matter. Such may consider, their presentments are of matters governed by their superiors; in which they are but to make presentment according to inquiries before them; in making of which, they may be directed by the Minister.

[1] Injunct. Q. Eliz. § 26. Oath agt. Simony. p. 90. Bp. Sparrow's Coll. Canon 40. 1603. p. 71. Ib.

Nemo gradum sacerdotii pretii venalitate merceatur: quantum quisque mercatur non quantum dare sufficiat, æstimetur.

[Ref.] Codicis Justiniani libri xii. tit. xxix. p. 24. Paris. 1562.

An Oath against Simony at institution into benefices.

Constit. and Canons Eccl. 1603. Lond. 1633.

[2] Episcopo et senioribus tanquam superioribus meis debitam obedientiam præstiturus, &c. Canon Eccles. Syn. Corniathinæ, in Hungaria. class. iii. can. 8.

Government of Ref. Ch. Lond. 1662. p. 10.

[3] "I A. B. do swear, that I will be resident in my vicarage of ——— in the diocese of ———, unless I shall be otherwise dispensed withal by my Diocesan."

Burn's Eccl. Law. Lond. 1767. vol. i. art. "Institution."

Of other Oaths, thus the Homily against Perjury: "When Judges require oaths of the people, for declaration or opening of the truth, or for execution of justice: also when men make faithful promises, with calling to witness of the name of God, to keep covenants, honest promises, statutes, laws, and good customs, as Christian Princes do in their conclusions of Peace, [for conservation of commonwealth;] and private persons promise their fidelity in matrimony, [or one to another in honesty and true friendship;] and all men when they do swear to keep common laws and local statutes, and good customs, for due order, [to be had and continued among men;] when subjects do swear to be true and faithful to their king [and sovereign Lord;] and when Judges, Magistrates, and Officers, swear truly to execute their Offices; [and when a man would affirm the truth to the setting forth of God's glory, for the salvation of the people, in open preaching of the Gospel, or in giving of good counsel privately for their souls' health;] all these manners of swearing, for causes necessary and honest, be lawful." . . . . . .

"By lawful oaths common laws are kept inviolate; justice is indifferently ministered; harmless persons are defended; mutual society, amity, and good order is kept continually in all commonalties, [as boroughs, cities, towns, and villages."]

"Lastly, of the Ceremony in taking oaths, with laying hands on the Bible, or Testament, and swearing by the contents of it, and kissing the Book; we may hear what Tindal[1] well saith, "When thou swearest by the [Holy] Gospel [boke] or Bible, the meaning is, that God, if thou lie, shall not fulfil unto thee the promise of mercy therein written; but contrariwise, to bring upon thee all the curses, plagues, and" vengeance "therein threatened unto the disobedient and evil-doers." And by these ceremonies the Civil Law tells us, an oath is held more inviolable.[2]

[1] Expos. on v. vi. vii. chapters of Matthew, by Wylliam Tindale. Lond. 1548. fol. xli.

[2] Sacrosanctis Evangeliis tactis juramentum præstent." Leg. 14. Rem non novam. § Patroni. 1. Authent. de defens. civit. Cod. de judiciis. Paris. 1836. col. 164.

Item omnes quorum interest jurent super sancta Evangelia, &c. [Dictum de Kenilworth.] 51. Henr. III. Stat. of the Realm. vol. i. p. 17. fol. Lond. 1810.

CHAPTER VIII.

OF THE MODERATION OF THE CHURCH IN RELATION TO CEREMONIES.

In the Ceremonies of our Church, which are very few, and those of great antiquity, simplicity, clear signification and use, our Church avoids either sort of superstition.

1. As in the foregoing chapter I have not thought it necessary to stay the reader by presenting to his consideration the many proofs of the lawfulness, antiquity, and advantages of Liturgy in general; or by arguing the excellence and usefulness of our public Forms of prayer in particular; because any such labour hath been sufficiently saved, from the copious and unanswerable performances of so many learned and judicious men of our communion, who have largely vindicated, and also have given the particular reasons of our institutions: so in this chapter of the *Ceremonies* of our church which are only the ecclesiastical institutions for order and decency, I hold it (for the same reasons mentioned) unnecessary, by many arguments to defend the lawful use or establishment of ecclesiastical rites, since the same have been abundantly proved both from the liberty allowed to the Jewish church; and also from what is warranted by the Apostolical doctrine and practice: and is defended from the practice and judgment of the primitive Church, and other Protestant churches: and cannot, without very evil consequences as are destructive to the interest of Religion, be denied any Christian Church.

All which, and much more, for the vindication of our church, hath been fully and judiciously evinced, particularly by my excellent friend Mr. Falkner in his "Libertas Ecclesiastica;"[1] to whose solid defence also of our other ecclesiastical appointments, and becoming gestures in the Service of God, and also the Holy-days and Festivals of our church as agreeable to holy Scripture and reason, I take leave

[1] By William Falkner, D.D. (Bk. ii.) Lond. 1683.]

to refer the reader: and I presume it may satisfy my design, and sufficiently justify our church, if unto what hath been so amply and irreprovably performed, I add the just instances and proof of our church's moderation.

The *Ceremonies* of our church are but very few, and those of great antiquity, simplicity, decency, and clear signification, hardly to be wrested to the prejudice of inward piety: wherefore they are neither unprofitable, nor burdensome, of which they are charged in the Preface to the Directory: our church avoiding extremes; on one hand, of the Church of Rome,[1] whose ceremonies are so cumbersome for their number[2] that they make no end of commanding and forbidding, till they come to the other extremity of moroseness: of which humour St. Austin[3] in express words complains: "Religion which God in his mercy hath made free with few and clear sacraments, is made more burdensome than ever was the Jewish:" Wherefore our church is most careful, lest by any excess of ceremonies, religion should be any wise obscured; and by outward and sensible things the minds of people should be diverted to the neglect of what is inward and spiritual. Therefore our church in its "Preface of Ceremonies, why some be abolished," complains, that "the excessive number of ceremonies was so great, and many of them so dark, that they did more confound and darken, than declare and set forth Christ's benefits unto us." On the other hand, our church avoids that other kind of superstition,

[1] [Si quis dixerit, receptos et approbatos ecclesiæ catholicæ ritus in solemni sacramentorum administratione adhiberi consuetos, aut contemni, aut sine peccato a ministris prohibito omitti, aut in novos alios per quemcumque ecclesiarum pastorem mutari posse, anathema sit.]

Conc. Trid. Sess. vii. can. xiii. (Labbe,) tom. xiv. col. 777.

[2] Quia vero non tam male audiunt quin ad aures ipsorum totius ferme orbis justissimæ querelæ pervenerint de superstitione et abusa quorundam rituum de moderanda et corrigenda onerosa multitudine.

Chemnit. Exam. Decret. Conc. Trid. Francof. 1596. Pars ii. De ritibus. p. 30.

[3] Quamvis enim neque hoc inveniri possit quomodo contra fiden sint; ipsam tamen religionem, quam paucissimis et manifestissimis celebrationum sacramentis misericordia Dei esse liberam voluit, servilibus oneribus premunt, ut tolerabilior sit conditio Judæorum, qui etiam si tempus libertatis non agnoverint legalibus tamen sarcinis, non humanis presumptionibus subjiciuntur.

August. Op. Basil. 1541. t. ii. Epist. cxix.

of those that consider not the frame of men, nor the use and experience of having some rites for comeliness and edification ;[1] and for "exciting of piety and devotion, in the public worship of God." Let me for the sake of those who rather will accept such a truth from Mr. Perkins,[2] repeat his words: "We hold, that the Church of God hath power to prescribe ordinances, rules, or traditions, and touching order and comeliness to be used in the same; and in this regard, Paul commendeth the church of Corinth for keeping his traditions, and the Council at Jerusalem decreed, that the churches of the Gentiles should 'abstain from blood and from things strangled:' this decree is termed a 'Tradition:' and this kind of traditions, whether made by general [councils] or particular synods, we have a care to maintain and observe; these caveats being remembered:[3] First, that they prescribe nothing childish or absurd to be done. Secondly, that they be not imposed as any part of God's worship. Thirdly, that they be severed by superstition or opinion of merit. Lastly, that the Church of God be not burdened with the multitude of them." And indeed a worthy instance of the prudent moderation of the church of England is, that in her reformation from Rome, she hath delivered herself from such an "endless[4] multitude of superstitions and ceremonies, enough to take up a great part of a man's life to gaze on and to peruse ;—an huge sort of" which "are so childish [also] and unsavoury, that as they argue great silliness and rawness in their inventors, so can they naturally bring no other than disgrace and contempt to those exercises of religion wherein they are stirring." Yet, after the fashion of a modest and prudent matron, though our church doth not appear tawdry dressed with too great a variety of ill placed cost, yet doth she endeavour always to appear discreet and comely in her attire: on purpose retaining some rites, in respect to the

1 Cor. ii. 2.

Acts xv. 2.

[1] V. Pref. to the Liturgy.

[2] Reformed Catholic, § 7. of Traditions, vol. i. p. 573. Camb. 1608.

[3] Neque vero tales sunt ritus qui in oriente et occidente recepti sunt sed pauci numero, sine sumptu, et minime graves, præsertim adhibitis temperamentis quæ adhiberi solent, &c.
Grot. Op. Basil. 1732. Annotat. ad Consult. Cassand. t. iv. Artic. xv. p. 622.

[4] ["Europæ Speculum:" by Sir Edwin Sandys. Lond. 1673.] p. 3.

practice of the ancient Church; and to vindicate herself from the imputation of moroseness: and not to side with the other extreme of those who in the exercise of their religion, affect carelessness and neglect of any good form. The Church of England doth retain some ceremonies in her offices, thereby also to vindicate real Christian liberty, namely, the public liberty of God's Church; one part of which (as Bucer in the beginning of the Reformation well noted) is for the Church to choose its own rites: and also to vindicate the liberty of private Christians, who by the orders of the Church have their choice directed for their own edification, and the better order of Divine things. For "diversity of Ceremonies in divers Churches doth serve to testify the Christian liberty; and doth greatly conduce to teach [and manifest] the true [doctrine and] judgment of ceremonies, namely, that all men may by this diversity understand, that those things which are not delivered in [the] holy Scripture are not necessary to salvation, but may be altered [according] as the time and circumstance of edification doth require."[1] Which reason of them, though it hath been frequently repeated, yet hath not sufficiently been taken notice of by those who pretend to be such assertors of Christian liberty, who fall foul into another servile and unquiet sort of superstition.

Yet when we consider the horrid stiff superstition of such precisians whom the moderation of the church of England in point of Ceremonies doth affright, we cannot think them so moped, but others appear to have run into a greater excess of madness, when we behold the exceeding number of ceremonies and observances, which the Roman rubrics appoint in their Rituals, Missals, and Pontifical, &c. We may bless ourselves, who within the communion of our Church are freed from such a bondage, more grievous than the Jewish: especially, since their rites (many of which are so ridiculous and

[1] Cassander Anglicanus: or Necessity of Conformity, &c. John Sprint. Lond. 1618. p. 115.

[Diversos esse posse ritus medios salva fidei et charitatis compage in diversis Ecclesiis; aut etiam in eadem ecclesia, pro temporum aliarumque circumstantiarum varietate.] Forbesii Irenic. lib. ii. cap. vi. Amstel. 1703. p. 403. Harmon. Confess. Camb. 1586. §. 17. p. 516. [of Ceremonies.]

trifling[1]) [2] are not only approved, but required by the Council of Trent, under the pain of Anathema[3]: and that for surer notice repeated in the first page of their Ritual. Wherefore as Plutarch well saith of religion, it hath its place between contempt of divine things on one hand, and superstition on the other; so the moderation of our church is excellently tempered to keep Christians from enthusiasm in one extreme, and from what some call 'rituality' on the other.[4] Of our Church's care in this last particular, Bishop Taylor thus endeavours to satisfy some consciences: "There is reason," saith he, "to celebrate and honour the wisdom and prudence of the church of England, which hath, in all her Offices, retained but one Ritual or Ceremony,[5] that is not of divine ordinance or apostolical practice, and that is 'the cross in baptism,' which though it be a significant ceremony, and of no other use, yet as it is a compliance with the practice of all ancient churches,[6] so it is very innocent in itself: and being one [and] alone, is, in no regard, troublesome [or afflictive to those that understand her power, and her liberty, and her reason]. I said, she hath only one ceremony of her own appointment; for the ring in marriage is the symbol of a civil and religious contract; it is a pledge and custom of the nation, not of [the] religion: And [those] other circumstances of her worship, are but determinations of time and place and manner of a duty; they serve to other purposes, besides sig-

[1] Pontificale Rom. Clementis VIII. Bruxell. 1735. de Eccles. dedicat. p. 268. Ritus absolvendi excomm. j. m. Venet. 1663. pp. 46 et 47.

[2] Quando primo Clericis barbæ tondentur, dici debet, Pontifice sedente cum mitra, Antiphona, Sicut Ros Hermon, &c. Pontificale De Clerico faciendo, p. 17. 647.

[3] Conc. Trid. Sess. 7. Can. 13.

[4] [Βέλτιον γὰρ ἐνυπάρχειν τι καὶ συγκεκρᾶσθαι τῇ περὶ Θεων δόξῃ καινὸν αἰδοῦς καὶ φοβου παθος, ἢ που τουτο φέυγοντας, μήτε ἐλπιδα μήτε χάριν ἑαυτοὶς, μήτε θάρσος ἀγαθῶν παρόντων, μήτε τινὰ δυστυχοῦσιν ἀποστροφὴν πρὸς τὸ θεῖον ἀπολέιπεσθαι. Plutarchus de "Epicuri Decretis." Op. Par. 1624. tom. ii. p. 1101.]

[5] [Quales esse possunt varii ritus et ceremoniæ, cæteræque id genus divini cultus circumstantiæ, quæ virtute legis jura etiam fuint divina; quæ violare fas non est, priusquam legitima autoritate abrogentur modo nec Divinis oraculis nec supremæ virtutis legi repugnent.]

H. Mori Enchirid. Eth. Lond. 1669. c. v. p. 105. § 9.

[6] [St. Cyprian de lapsis: et epist. 56.]

nification; [they were not made for that, but] for order and decency, for which there is an apostolical precept, and a natural reason, and an evident necessity, or a great convenience."[1] Neither is any ceremony used in our church by any beside the Minister.

They have constantly been declared to be in themselves indifferent and alterable: but in that our Church avoids variableness, is a further proof of its Moderation. Artic. of Relig. xxxiv.

2. The constant moderation of the Church from the beginning of the Reformation hath always faithfully declared its rites and particular forms of worship to be such things as are in their own nature "indifferent and mutable,"[2] that they might be limited or revoked: "Every particular [or] national Church hath authority to ordain, change, and abolish Ceremonies [or rites of the Church, ordained only by man's authority, so that all things be done to edifying.]"[3] "It may be lawful for just causes, to alter, change, or mitigate, or recede from ecclesiastical decrees," saith the Homily of Fasting. Much more to the same purpose, the Church declares, in the twentieth Article;[4] and in the "Preface of the Ceremonies;" and in the Homilies; especially in the beginning of the last Preface added to the Common Prayer Book, 1662. "It hath been the wisdom of the Church of England, ever since her first compiling of her public Liturgy, to keep the mean between the two extremes, of too much stiffness in refusing, and too much easiness in admitting [any] variation from it." In the same Preface it is added, "In which review we have endeavoured to observe the like moderation as we find to have been used in" like cases "in former times."

As this is an unquestionable proof of the Church's moderation, so give me leave to make it a good instance also thereof, in that on the other hand, she doth wisely avoid the other extreme of variableness, being not given to change, but upon good reason thereunto moving; because of the many inconveniences that ensue upon frequent unadvised mutations. So often as any private persons willingly and purposely recede

[1] Ductor Dub. l. iii. c. 4. R. 20. tom. xiv. Lond. 1828.

[2] ["Mean and indifferent thingis,"] Instit. of a Christen Man, p. 46.

[3] "Of the Traditions of the Church."

[4] "Of the Authority of the Church."

from the appointments of the Church; the thirty-fourth Article provides for their "open rebuke." "Neither are we ignorant," saith King James, in his Proclamation for Uniformity, "of the inconveniences" that "do arise in government, by admitting innovation in things once settled by mature deliberation: and how necessary it is to use constancy in the upholding of the public determinations of states; for that such is the unquietness and unstedfastness of some dispositions, affecting every year new forms of things, as, if they should be followed in their inconstancy, would make all actions of states ridiculous and contemptible." And if authority should upon all wrong apprehensions of parties make new usages, nothing in the outward worship of God would continue, no not the very sacraments.[1]

They are professed by the Church to be no part of Religion, much less the chief; nor to have any supernatural effect belonging to them.

3. The moderation of the Church further appears, in that our rites are nowhere made any part of religion or worship, but only used in subserviency to religion; and without them the religion and worship of God is acknowledged entire. This is manifest from what hath been declared before of their indifferent and mutable nature: and to prevent all just occasion of exception, the Church of England doth publicly declare, that her Constitutions concerning indifferent things are made without any opinion of worship by them, or absolute necessity of them:[2] yea all are admonished to consider, that God is not appeased by them, much less is his grace by them merited, or satisfaction made for sins. In the 2nd year of King Edward VI., in the Articles of Archbishop Cranmer, it is inquired, whether the Ministers have declared unto the

[1] Illud autem omnibus penitus infixum esse oportet, nec tutum esse, nec ad fovendam concordiam utile, temere desciscere ab iis quæ Majorum autoritate tradita sunt, quæque longo sæculorum usu consensuque confirmata. Nec quicquam omnino novandum est, nisi huc aut cogat necessitas, aut insignis invitet utilitas.

Erasmus de amab. Eccl. Concord. Op. Lugd. Bat. 1704. tom. v. col. 500.

[2] Ita ut tandem in theatricum ferme apparatum cæremoniæ illæ abierint. Et ut non prorsus sane damnetur veterum illud consilium, nimis rigide et magnifice exaggerant Ceremoniarum Magistri et exactores, quasi sine illis nec veritas nec dignitas nec efficacia Sacramentorum consistat.

Chemnitii Exam. Conc. Trid. Can. xiii. Sess. 7. p. 228. Genev. 1634.

King Edw. VI. Injunctions. 1547.

people the true use of Ceremonies; that they be no workers of salvation, but only outward signs and tokens (not mystical, but of clear signification; not sacramental, but naturally and properly fit) to put us in remembrance of things of higher perfection: then it was also declared, that "the Ceremonies are not superstitiously to be abused, as thereby to drive away Devils, &c., or by putting trust and confidence for health and salvation in the same."[1]

Thus "our Church is (God be thanked) far from any such [impious presumption,] tyranny, and usurpation over men's consciences, which the Pharisees of old did, and the Church of Rome at this day doth, exercise; equalling, if not preferring her constitutions to the laws of God; having declared herself by solemn protestation, enough to satisfy any ingenuous, impartial judgment, that by requiring obedience to these ceremonial constitutions, she hath no other purpose than to reduce all her children to an orderly conformity in the outward worship of God: so far is" the Church "from seeking to draw any opinion, either of divine necessity upon the constitution, or of effectual holiness upon the ceremony."[2]

Abundant care is taken to give plain and frequent reasons and interpretations of what in this nature is enjoined to prevent mistakes.

4. So great is the moderation of our Church, that lest any should lose the benefit of her communion, or continue uneasy in their own scruples, she hath condescended to expound such Injunctions as could be foreseen to have any objection.[3] In the end of the Office for the Holy Communion, "lest [the same] 'kneeling' should by any persons, either through

[1] ["No man better distinguished between true religion adorned with orderly decency; and pompous superstition loaden with empty formality: between ceremonies, fondly swelled to the substance, or diseases of religion; and modestly waiting upon it as comely shadows: inseparable, as our skins in their common nature, yet variable as our clothes in their particular fashions and distinctions." Bp. Gauden bef. Bp. Brownrig's Serm. Lond. 1661. § 4.

"He thought ceremonies to be only as the garnish of the dish; neither the meat, nor the sauce, of religion. Ib. § 6.]

[2] Bp. Sanderson's "Judgment in one View," p. 98. Lond. 1678.

V. Bp. Morton Ep. to the Non-Conf.

[3] Super his aliqua moderatio adhibenda est pro conscientiarum sedatione, etiam multitudini errantium pie condescendendo aliqua declaratio facienda.

Petr. de Aliaco, de Reform. Eccl. fol. ccvi. [De reform. prælator.] in Gratii Fascic. ed. 1535.

'ignorance' or [out of] malice [and obstinacy], be misconstrued and depraved, it is [here] declared, that thereby no adoration is intended, or [ought] to be done," &c., as there may be seen more at large. To the same purpose is the fifth Rubric after the Holy Communion, "To take away all occasion of dissension," or "superstition."

In the thirtieth Canon, the lawful use of the Cross in Baptism is copiously and excellently explained:[1] For removing "all scruple," and for sufficient caution against "all popish superstition."

First, The Church of England, since the abolishing of Popery hath ever held and taught, and so doth hold and teach [still], that "the sign of the cross[2] used in Baptism, is no part of the substance of the sacrament:" "neither doth add" "to the virtue" or "perfection of baptism."

Second, "That the infant baptized is by virtue of baptism,[3] before it be signed with the sign of the cross, received into the congregation of Christ's flock, as a perfect member thereof, and not by any power ascribed to the sign of the cross:" and that no invisible grace or virtue is annexed to the sign; "all popish error and superstition" being "purged from the use of it, and reduced in the Church of England to the primary institution of it." For which reason also, lest any mysterious operation should be thought imputed to the sign of the cross, King James and King Charles I. and now King Charles II. have forborne the use of that sign at the Healing:[4] (though therewith it was used in the reigns of

[1] See 2nd Rubric after "Public Baptism of Infants."

[2] Nec nos pudet Crucifixi, sed in parte ubi pudoris signum est, signum Crucis habemus. S. Aug. Ps. xxx. Enarr. iv. t. iv. col. 165. Par. 1681.

["Ut signum Dei incolume servetur."]

Cyp. Epist. lvi. p. 93. Par. 1726.

[3] "Crucis ceremonia in baptismate retinetur, et explicatur" (in Constitutionibus Londini, 1604.) sed ita et "tot adhibitis cautionibus ut sacrosancti signi reverentia omnino aboleri potius quam confirmari videatur."

J. Aug. Thuani Hist. Genev. 1620. tom. v. lib. cxxxi. ad an. 1604. p. 1181.

[4] [Eminent and most remarkable was the great prudence of King James in this concernment. All along King Edward the sixt'h, and Queen Elizabeth her reign, when the "strumosi," such as had the King's evil, came to be touched, the manner was then for her to apply the sign of the cross to the tumour; which raising cause of jealousies, as if some mysterious operation were imputed to it,

King Edward VI. and Queen Elizabeth :) so great a moderation and condescension have the kings of England used (as well as the church) for the healing of the minds as well as the bodies of their people.

In the eighteenth Canon, with great wisdom and moderation, is procured all decent, orderly, reverent, and attentive behaviour in time of Divine Service ;[1] where, for kneeling at Confession, Supplication, and Prayers, standing up at the Belief, paying a due, lowly reverence, when in time of Divine Service " the Lord Jesus shall be mentioned,"[2] are added the reasons of the Canon, viz., " testifying by these outward ceremonies and gestures, their inward humility, Christian resolution, and due acknowledgment that the Lord Jesus[3] Christ, the true and eternal Son of God, is the only Saviour of the world, in whom alone, all the mercies and promises of God to mankind, for this life, and the life to come, are fully and wholly comprised. [4]" Which harmless ceremonies, as " no man is " constrained to use, so we know no reason " any of them should withstand. " Against Infidels, Jews, and Arians, who derogate from the honour of Jesus Christ, such ceremonies are most profitable."

In the Canons, 1640, with all moderation possible, the Church did declare itself concerning the " situation of the Holy Communion table,"[5] lest any should esteem it otherwise than a figurative altar,[6] as thereon was had a commemora-

that wise and learned king, not only (with his son the late King) practically discontinued it, but ordered it to be expunged out of the prayers relating to that cure, which hath proceeded as effectually, that omission notwithstanding, as it did before.]

Hamon L'Estrange's Alliance of Divine Offices. Lond. 1659. ch. viii. p. 250.

[1] Erunt itaque recti moderatique gestus qui possunt servire puræ religioni Christi. Buceri Cens. c. v. Canon III.

[2] Injunction Queen Elizabeth, § 52. p. 77.

[3] Quæ sane devotio ordinarie plus afficitur erga nomen Jesu quam ergo alia Dei et Christi nomina, quia nomen ipsum significat nostram salutem, et ipsum nobis offert salvatorem, cui tantum debemus.

Ant. de Dominis. Hanov. 1622. t. iii. l. vii. c. 12. § 49. De Republ. Eccl.

[4] Hooker's Eccles. Pol. l. v. § 30.

[5] [Can. vii. Cardwell's 'Synodalia.' Vol. i. Oxf. 1842.]

[6] [And therefore, keeping the same analogy, he must needs call the Communion Table by the name of the Lord's Table, *i. e.* the Table upon which God's

tion of that "full, perfect, and sufficient sacrifice, for the sins of the whole world:" wherefore in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, according to the advice of Bucer, it was to be so placed, that "the Minister" might "more conveniently be heard."[1] And because of God's Majesty, the obeisance which was only recommended, had so great an allay of moderation, that the conclusion of the Canon is very memorable to our purpose: in the practice or omission of this rite, we desire that the rule of charity prescribed by the Apostle, may be observed, which is, that they which use this rite, despise not them who use it not; and that they who use it not, condemn not those that use it."[2] The same words his Majesty King Charles II. inserted in one of his royal Proclamations; so far was this from being to be counted one of the ceremonies of the Church, as the "Naked Truth" calls it. "Of this bodily reverence of God in his Church, the government is so moderate, (God grant it be not loose there-while,) that no man is constrained, no man questioned, only religiously called upon, 'O come, let us worship, kneel, and fall down, before God our Maker.'"[3] [Rom. xiv. 3.]

5. So that in our church, as our worship of God is suitable to solid and rational devotion, so in the appointments of our church which refer to the administration of the same, our church appears neither to affect vain gaieties, nor outward

The Moderation of our Church even in point of Ceremonies compared with those who have raised so great a dust in this controversy.

meat is eaten; not his altar, upon which it is offered. It is true an altar is nothing but a table; but it is a table upon which God himself eats, consuming the sacrifices by his holy fire; but, when the same meat is given from God unto us to eat of, the relation being changed, the place on which we eat is nothing but a table.]

True Notion of Lord's Supp. by R. Cudworth, D.D. Lond. 1670. p. 77.

[1] Queen Eliz. Injunct. for Tables in the Church. Sparrow. p. 78.

[Ex formis antiquissimorum templorum atque scriptis S. Patrum satis cognoscitur fuisse stationem Cleri apud veteres in mediis templis quæ fore rotunda erant: ex eoque loco sic sacra divina populis esse exhibita, ut exaudiri plane possent quæ recitabantur, et intelligi ab omnibus qui erant præsentes.]

Bucer. Script. Angl. Basil. 1577. cap. i. p. 457.

[2] Hîc igitur nullus alium dijudicet: vescens non insultet abstinentibus, abstinentes non condemnent vescentes, etiam si causa non sit evidens.

Erasm. de amab. Eccl. Concord. [Gratii Fascic. 1535. fol. ccxxxii.]

[3] Abp. Laud's Speech in the Star Chamber. "Remains." Lond. 1700. p. 78.

splendour, nor such luxuriant expressions, as are suited to feed the humours and boundless fancies of men: retaining what is reverent and becoming, yet rejecting what is superstitious in sundry consecrations, benedictions, and exorcisms, which are in use in the Roman church: which mild and wise moderation of our church, renders their humours more unaccountably foolish and obstinate, who are so peremptory in their non-conformity to the orders of our church: "since there is no church in the world, which hath all its offices and sacraments so administered, conformably to the best precedents, in words understood, without any mixture of dangerous or superstitious encroachments; and with that gravity, decency, and solemnity, that befits the service of God:" as Dean Lingard (whom for love and honour to his memory, I name) in a Sermon of his before the King.[1]

Yet of these men who are so impatient of Ceremonies upon public order, I cannot but note what hath been often observed,[2] that many of them use two ceremonies for one, after their own fancies, as not only their emphatic looks, antic actions, odd postures; but further they require of their disciples some things of a ceremonial nature, as special marks of admission into their parties. It is religion with many of them not to give the title of Saint but to their own people: and many think no prayer acceptable unless it be very long; especially before Sermon: and that, no sermon neither, except it be in the pulpit. As Aristotle observed of the necessity of laws in every society; so the use of ceremonies and order may be further proved at large; for that all factions, how different soever, do frame to themselves some peculiar modes and figures of practice, in which they are so strict (although in matter of their acknowledged liberty) that 'tis

[1] July 26, 1668. Lond. p. 29. Richd. Lingard, D.D. Dean of Lismore.

[2] [And lastly, that "they should lift up their right hand bare:" that's another, if not two ceremonies more. For they enjoin them to lift up "the right hand," not the "left;" and that it should be "bare," not covered with a glove. And, this very ordinance touching the manner of the taking the covenant, they desired might be confirmed by Act of Parliament, as you may see in the propositions sent to his Majesty at Newcastle, July 11, 1646.]

Friendly Debate betw. a Conformist and a Non-Conf. Lond. 1669. p. 221.

pity their observance is not better placed. Even the Quakers themselves, in what they (in abuse of the laws) call Marriages, use ceremonies of joining hands, and standing, while they also declare their consent mutually in a form: and in many other practices of opposition: as meeting for what they call Marriage in the afternoon; burying their people in a cross manner; they are constant, and as formal (where they are antipodes to authority) as any Romanist can be in his crosses and incensings: so that if superstition[1] be going beyond measures, we may conclude, that none are so superstitious as those on either hand who oppose the Moderation of our Church. And really it is a very great justification of the moderation of our Church, that our present anti-ceremonial Dissenters—though they have wanted no endeavours to the utmost of their wits and powers—hitherto have been able to make no other exceptions against our church, and what is therein constituted, than what have been answered already, very often, and very fully, to the conviction of the most learned, and the more ingenuous amongst themselves.

Many innocent Rites and usages our Church never went about to introduce, and why.

6. But so far is the Church of England from multiplying Ceremonies, that we know there are many innocent usages[2] which have been in the primitive Church, in sundry places, and at divers times, which our church of England never went about to introduce, either by practice or command: as the holy kiss, the use of the veil, the threefold immersion, or use of the white garment in baptism, and many others, which since our Church passeth by their use, we do not mention: which sheweth, that order and edification gives bounds (as is meet) to the number and use of ceremonies in our church; which stops that objection in its career: "Who shall determine their convenient number?"[3] The Church hath received just rules, and our church hath observed the same, with just moderation. And hereunto may be added, that as

[1] Sensi enim sæpe dolens et gemens multas infirmorum perturbationes fieri per quorundam fratrum contentiosam obstinationem vel superstitiosam timiditatem. Aug. op. Par. 1836. tom. ii. p. 186. ep. 118.

[2] vid. Necess. of Conform. (Cassander Anglicanus) by John Sprint. Lond. 1618. p. 85 to 101.

[3] Interest of England, p. 89.

our church hath not rejected all rites and usages, merely because they were in use in the Roman Church, no more than the reformation of Hezekiah, or Josiah, rejected all things received or imitated in the corrupt worship of the ten tribes; so, many practices which had pious and useful beginnings in the church of Rome and afterward were grievously corrupted, have not been admitted in our church: partly, because she hath not been forward to multiply ritual observances; partly, that such occasions of corruption may not be invited, when by experience it hath been seen, how easily there hath come excess. Among what had useful beginnings cannot be numbered the old ways of superstitious purgations by fire and water ordeals, and combats, &c., which are all abolished among us.[1]

The obligation of our Church in this matter is very mild.

7. Concerning the Ceremonies appointed in our church, it must further be taken notice, that the obligation to them is very mild: for though the intent of the church is doubtless to bind all to the preservation of regular order, yet, as the "Institution of a Christian Man" hath it,[2] "forasmuch as such things be of themselves mean and indifferent, men may upon causes reasonable well omit the same, so that it be not in case of contempt or scandal."[3] And, of the Church we have no reason to complain for securing its own orders against "contempt," and for providing against "scandal" to those of her communion: especially, since her rites themselves are such as might deserve every where to be observed: but how far particular persons have to do to moderate yet further the great moderation of the Church, we leave it to all sober consciences, and to our superiors to judge; who also must judge of the true interest of the Church, how far popular exception ought to influence any change. Uniformity certainly is so

[1] V. Ridley's View, &c. l. i. c. 5. § 5.

Reformat. leg. eccl. de purgatione. Lond. 1571. cap. xxi. p. 39. "Superstitiosas purg."

[2] p. 47.

[3] ["Sixthly, that if a man do violate them by ignorance or forgetfulness, he doth not offend: if by contempt or stubbornness, he doth greatly offend."]

Whitgift's Answ. to Admon. p. 29.

v. Bp. Sanderson's Sermons. Lond. 1657. Serm. I. ad Clerum, p. 19.

excellent, that the certain purchase of it would be worth somewhat; but the truth is, our governors have to do with those that are so unresolved of what they would have, that this makes their most cautious deliberation necessary; [1] for, as a learned prelate observes, "It is a rule in prudence, not to remove an ill custom, when it is well settled, unless it bring great prejudices, and then it is better to give one account why we have taken it away, than to be always making excuses why we do it not. Needless alteration doth diminish the venerable esteem of religion, and lessen the credit of ancient truths. Break ice in one place, and it will crack in more."

The Moderation of our Church in her appointment of Vestments.

8. It may be as proper in this place as any where, to annex the notice of our Church's moderation in its appointments of vestments[2] for holy ministrations; as being herein neither indecently deficient, nor immoderately extravagant: the vestments in use, by order among us, being very few, and those very modest and useful, for ornament, distinction, and commonefaction; free from all superstition and show of luxury; of the same kind of those in use in the Reformed churches:[3] neither are they in the Church of England consecrated by any solemn benediction, nor to any supernatural effects; [4] "as we think not ourselves the holier because we use" them, "so neither should" others "think us therefore unholy." In the "Injunctions" of Queen Elizabeth, [5] Her Majesty being desirous to have the "prelacy and clergy" of this realm, to be "had as well in outward reverence, as otherwise regarded for the worthiness of their ministry, that they may receive the honour and estimation due to the special messengers of God; willeth and commandeth them to wear such habits, &c.; not thereby meaning" (as 'tis added) "to attribute any special holiness or worthiness to the said garments, but as St. [1 Cor. xiv. 40.]

1559. § 30.

[1] Bp. Bramhall to M. Militière. Works. Dubl. 1676. tom. i. p. 29.

[2] Canons 24. 25. 58. 74.

[3] John Durel's 'Reformed' Churches. Lond. 1662. § i. 20, 21, 22. p. 22. 24.

[4] Hooker's Eccl. Pol. l. v. § 29.

[5] Canon 74. (1603.) Episcoporum famuli in omni vestis genere, ita se modeste et composite ornabunt, ut fratres suos, quos Paulus appellat domesticos fidei, non offendant. v. Libr. quorundam Canonum, 1571. (Bp. Sparrow's Coll.)

Paul saith, 'Let all things be done decently.'" Wherefore in the third part of the homily of Idolatry, our church excepts against that costly and manifold furniture of vestments in the Church of Rome, as fetched from the Jewish usage. (Hooper's ingenuous acknowledgment of his error about Vestments, see in Dr. Durel, a MS. Letter.[1])

The Benedictions of our Church are according to great piety and wisdom ordered.

9. The Benedictions of our church are performed with great piety and wisdom, notwithstanding the contempt which many entertain the same with, hath been much increased by the extravagant practices of the church of Rome in their benedictions.

To make way for their Exorcisms antecedent to their benedictions, they seem to suppose worse of God's creation than they need, as if the Devil had such interest and possession in the salt and water, and what else they commonly exorcise. Sometimes they are as prodigal of their blessings as at other times of their curses, imprinting thereby a servile and superstitious dread upon the minds of men, whereby they suck no small advantage.

By their multitude of ceremonies they seem unavoidably to confound the people, and divert their minds from the true author and cause of blessing. How many crossings and sprinklings with holy water, incensings, exorcisms, variety of actions of the Bishops and Priests, frequent shifting of vestments, many utensils and materials do they make requisite? whereas the church of England doth in a modest and solemn manner make use of that commission it hath, to dispense by its ministers the Divine blessing in the name of God, because
Heb. vii. 7. the less is blessed of the greater; being very careful to make her people plainly sensible from whom the Benediction by prayer doth proceed. Our church doth carefully declare the Divine promises as they are made, that the people may take more effectual care to be duly qualified for the Divine blessing. Our church doth not hold any mediator for the Divine blessing but what God hath appointed; neither saint,

[1] Vindiciæ S. Eccl. Angl. cap. 16. p. 140.

[This was a letter written by Hooper to Cranmer; the MS. copy of which was furnished by Dr. Seth Ward, Bp. of Salisbury, to the author.]

nor angel: but only Jesus Christ our Lord. Our church doth rightly suppose its ministers have authority given them, to declare and pronounce the Divine promises of blessing, with the conditions of receiving the same: and that they have a special commission given them to pray for God's people and bless them; as the priests under the law had commission to bless the people in the name of God; which practice had nothing ceremonial in it, and peculiar to the law: wherefore Christ put his hands upon the little children, and blessed them, and commanded his Apostles and Ministers to bless his people: "and without all contradiction, the less is blessed of the greater." Wherefore for the dignity of the episcopal office, the Church doth especially delegate that power and commission to her Bishops for confirmation, with imposition of hands; and in Ordination of ministers, &c. Neither do our religious Kings in our church refuse the benedictions of the church's ministers, either as Christians, or as kings at their coronations: yea our church indeed ascribes more to blessing and prayer than the church of Rome doth: for, by blessing and prayer our church holds the bread and wine in the holy Eucharist to be consecrated; which the Roman priests do not, till those words be pronounced, "Hoc est enim Corpus meum."

Numb. vi. 22—27. Deut. x. 8. 1 Chron. xxiii. 13. Matt. xix. 13. Matt. x. 13. Luke x. 5. Heb. vii. 7.

And here I cannot but add what the Archbishop of Spalato truly observed of the constant and ordinary blessing at meals in England, according to pious and Christian practice: "Blessings," saith he,[1] "and thanksgivings at the tables of the nobility, gentry, clergy, and laity, at no time and upon no occasion omitted, I never saw with such religion and piety performed as in England."

Yea among those of the church of England, the laudable Christian custom is maintained of parents blessing their children, and of children's humbly asking their parents' blessing, whereby the authority of the parent is maintained, and each are put in mind of their respective obligation. The same laudable custom is used to our Bishops.

[1] Benedictiones et gratiarum actiones in mensa quorumcunque, et magnatum, et plebeiorum, et clericorum et laicorum nullo tempore, nulla occasione prætermissas, nusquam vidi tanta cum religione et pietate adhiberi, ac in Anglia.

M. Ant. de Dominis. Ostens. error. Suarez. Lond. 1620. t. ii. cap. ii. §. 27.

To which may be added, that the "laudable customs" commonly in use in our church, as they are few which are generally received, so are they such as are very suitable to this moderation here commended: but the Church declares only such customs to be "laudable" which are not contrary to the word of God, or the prerogative Royal.

Canon 42. 36. 10.

The Moderation of our Church in her appointments of Gestures.

10. As the wisdom of our church doth account it "a reasonable service"[1] to offer up our "bodies a holy and acceptable sacrifice" in the worship of God; so she requires such reverent and becoming gestures, as are proper to betoken the awful thoughts of our minds. Wherefore at our prayers we are enjoined "meekly to kneel upon our knees;" and at the Absolution also, and repeating the Ten Commandments, and at receiving imposition of hands; because the same are accompanied with holy prayers: and at our receiving the holy Supper of our Lord; the same being the most suitable posture to testify and promote our humility, our thankfulness, and our reverent worship of God. To express also our joy and praise of God, as at the Psalms: and to witness our stedfast and resolved, and solemn profession of our faith, as at the Belief, we use the posture of standing: and also at the Gospels, to express our outward reverence to the holy Scriptures; especially because they generally contain the actions and words of our blessed Saviour. But in tender regard to the weakness and infirmity of many Christians, such is the moderation of our church, she alloweth sitting at the longer Lessons and Sermons, and at the Epistles, in accommodation to the reasonable ease of people, after their long kneeling before.

[Service of Holy Communion.]

Of the respect which is held due to places and things distinguished to God's service, our Church judgeth and practiseth according to an excellent Moderation.

11. Of that respect which is due to Churches and places for the Divine worship and service, our church hath determined according to great moderation and truth; "keeping the middle way between the pomp of superstitious tyranny, and the meanness of fantastic anarchy."[2] "Moreover," saith the Homily, "the church or temple is counted or called holy; yet not of itself, but because God's people resorting thereunto

[1] [Rom. xii. 1.]

[2] Εικ. Βασιλ. § 27, p. 246. 1648.

are holy, and exercise themselves in holy and heavenly things."[1] Wherefore though our church is most religiously careful, that the incommunicable honour due unto God be attributed unto no creature else; yet because the inward honour due to God ought to express itself as well outwardly as it can; therefore whatsoever is appropriate to the peculiar service of God, our church requires should be used with such a "difference and distinction," as may set forth our due and singular reverence of God. "It is easy to note how the extreme of superstitious curiosity hath crept into the Church of Rome; insomuch, that it may well vie with the Jewish for multitude and niceness of observances: a just volume would not contain the curious scruples of their nice observances, in their vestments, consecrations, sacramental rites; and, indeed, in the whole carriage of their religious devotions: but surely, I fear, these are not more faulty in the one extreme, than many Christians are in the other, who place a kind of holiness in a slovenly neglect; who are apt to higgle with the Almighty, and in a base niggardliness, pinch him in the allowances of his service." [2]"Wise Christians sit down in the mean, now under the Gospel, avoiding a careless and parsimonious neglect on the one side, and a superstitious slovenliness[3] on the other:" "the painted looks and lascivious gaudiness of the church upon the hills, and the careless neglected dress of some churches in the valley." "Far be it from me," saith Mr. Mede,[4] "to be a patron of idolatry or superstition in the least degree; yet I am afraid, lest we who have reformed the worship of God from that pollution; (and blessed be his name therefore;) by bending the crooked stick too much the other way, have run too far into the contrary extreme." To observe the just mean in practice is somewhat difficult; nevertheless, our church in its rules doth no more favour sacrilege than idolatry: if the personal faults of any have caused a scandal on us for either, the Church laments the same: and that there may be the less public temptation to sacrilege among us, as it hath been in other nations, the immoderate bounty of

[1] [Hom. for Repairing of Churches.]
[2] Of Holy decency in the worship of God. Bp. Hall in his 'Remains.'
[3] ["Lavishness." Pratt, vol. vii. p. 480. Lond. 1808.]
[4] B. 1, Disc. 2.

exorbitant donations is limited, as by Statute of mortmain, lest the secular state should become impoverished; "though that which was heretofore said of those things that were given, that they were in a dead hand, may more justly be said of those things that are taken away."[1]

The monuments of our church are also full of instances of our church's observing the mean between superstition and profaneness: "The horrible abuses," saith the Homily,[2] "and abominations, they that supply the room of Christ, have purged and cleansed the Church of England of; taking away all such fulsomeness and filthiness, as through blind devotion and ignorance hath crept into the church these many hundred years." The Homilies also condemn such sumptuousness as put people "in peril of idolatry:" yet, they require "all convenient cleanness and ornament,"[3] where we cannot attain to an honourable magnificence: for as the Homily saith, "when God's House is well adorned, with places convenient to sit in; with the Pulpit for the Preacher; with the Lord's Table for the Ministration of the Holy Supper;" and "the Font to christen in, also is kept clean, comely, and sweetly, the people are more desirous and the more comforted to resort thither, and to tarry the whole time appointed them."[4] Thus the eighty-fifth Canon provides, that the Church "be well and sufficiently repaired, and so from time to time kept and maintained:" that "all things be in such orderly and decent sort, without dust, or any thing that may be noisome or unseemly, as becometh the house of God:" "that there be a terrior of glebe lands, and other possessions belonging to the churches: that the "churches" be not "profaned:" that "the Bible and Common Prayer Book, and the Book of Homilies, be had in every church," &c.

Canon 83. 1603.
Canon 82.
Canon 81.
Can. 87.
Can. 88.
Can. 80.

Unto all this, I wish some would add the consideration of what Mr. Baxter hath writ: "temples, utensils, &c., devoted and lawfully separated by man for holy uses, are holy, as justly related to God by that lawful separation. Ministers

[1] Ridley's View of Civ. and Eccl. Law. Part iii. c. iv. § 1.

[2] Hom. for "Repairing of Churches."

[3] Hom. of Peril of Idol. Part iii.

[4] Hom. of "Repairing of Churches."

are more holy than temples, lands, utensils, as being nearlier related to holy things: and things separated by God are more holy than those justly separated by man. And so of days, every thing should be reverenced according to the measure of its holiness; and this, expressed by such signs, gestures, actions, as are fittest to honour God to whom they are related: and so, to be uncovered in Church, and use reverent carriage and gestures there, doth tend to preserve the due reverence to God and to his worship.[1]

1 Cor. xvi. 20.

[1] Christian Direct. p. 915. q. 170.

CHAPTER IX.

OF THE MODERATION OF OUR CHURCH WITH RESPECT TO HOLY-DAYS, NAMELY, BOTH THE FEASTS AND FASTS OF THE CHURCH.

The Feasts of the Church are few; and those for great reason chose: with care to avoid the excesses of the Romanists.

CONCERNING Holy Days in general, it may suffice here, only to repeat the words of our Bishops in answer to the Presbyterian brethren (1661. N. 6). "The observation of Saints' days is not of divine but ecclesiastical institution; and therefore it is not necessary that they should have any other ground in Scripture, than other institutions of the same nature, so that they be agreeable to the Scripture in the general end, for the promoting of piety; and the observation of them was ancient, as appears by the Rituals and Liturgies, and by the joint consent of Antiquity; and by the ancient Translation of the Bible, as the Syriac and Æthiopic, where the Lessons appointed for Holy Days are noted, and set down; the former of which was made near the Apostles' times. Besides, our Saviour himself kept a Feast of the Church's institution; viz. The Feast of Dedication, S. Jo. xii. 22. The choice end of these days being not Feasting, but the exercise of Holy Duties, they are fitter called Holy Days than Festivals; and though they be all of like nature, it doth not follow that they are equal."[1]

The exceeding number of Festivals in the Roman Church that they have "neither mean nor measure, in making new Holy-days," as Mr. Latimer saith,[2] hath been the frequent complaint not only of many learned Protestants,[3] but also of

[1] Collier's Eccl. Hist. Lond. 1841. vol. viii. p. 429.

[2] Sermon afore the Conv. 9th of June, 28th of Hen. VIII. Lond. 1596, p. 14.

[3] Vetus est querela de nimis magna festorum multitudine. Chemnitii Exam. Conc. Trid. Francof. 1596. Pars iv. De dieb. fest. p. 157.

very many of the Roman Communion (as might be instanced); who have thought that the salvation of men would have been better consulted, if there were fewer solemnities and greater devotion; alleging that of St. Bernard;[1] "Such a number of festivities is fitter for citizens, than for exiles and pilgrims:" and Clemangius notes, that Moses appointed but three great solemnities; whereas at present the Romanists[2] observe more Festivals than ever the Scribes and Pharisees did: neither had they any feast for the Chair of Moses, as the other have for the Chair of St. Peter.

'Tis true, a French writer with the approbation of some Sorbon Doctors, and others of the same communion, have thought, that many of their Festivals might be dispensed with, by the Pope's leave; or without it, according to the privileges of the Gallican Church: but now as they write under correction of superiors, 'tis pretty to see in their pruning the luxuriant number of Feasts; what choice some Puritan Romanists offer at, in their schemes of reformation: for, the Feast of "Circumcision" they would blot out, because it falls on the first of January, a day of Gentile superstition.[3] The Feast of "our Lord's being presented in the Temple," or of the "Purification;" because on that day the Gentiles honoured

[1] Patriæ est non exilii, frequentia hæc gaudiorum; et numerositas festivitatum cives decet non exules. Bernard. op. Par. 1632. Ep. 174.

[2] Ecclesiastici in ocia ista propensiores plus æquo exigunt, nempe ut quarta fere pars anni feratiunculis conteratur; non inexperti, quo id ecclesiæ dedecore et animarum dispendio. Wicelius Meth. Concord. Lond. 1625. p. 61.

Effrænis earum numerus.
Gravamina Centum Germ. nat. xxxvii. Fascic. Edv. Brown. Lond. 1690. vol. i.

Non mandavit Moyses immo Dominus per Moysen, nisi tres annuas solemnitates præter sabbatismum par Israeliticum populum observari.
Nic. de Clemangis. op. Lugd. Bat. 1613. p. 143.

Turbam festorum dierum, quos vel episcopi multitudinis affectibus indulgentes induerunt, vel Romani pontifices causis non necessariis instituerunt, ipsi facile patientur abrogari, &c.
Erasm. op. Lugd. Bat. 1704. de amab. eccl. concord. t. v. col. 504.

[3] [Institui autem potuit festum ejusmodi ad abolendas atque exterminandas Gentilium, quæ Kalendis Januariis in usu erant, superstitiones.]
J. Bapt. Thiers de fest. dier. immin. Lugd. 1668. c. xlviii. § 5.

Mars or Pluto, called Februus:[1] and the Feast of "Epiphany" they would have expunged, because on those days some choose King and Queen.[2] Yet how do they "strain at a gnat, and swallow a camel?" for these glorious reformers of the Calendar will by no means have the Feast of the "Assumption of the Blessed Virgin into Heaven," omitted:[3] and, at this day, the Romanists keep for a solemnity the "Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary:"[4] by which, as St. Austin speaks of some, they love to canonize their own apocryphal errors: notwithstanding among the Feast-days to be deleted, the fore-mentioned Reformers have the confidence to reckon up All Saints' days; and the Feast of St. Michael and the Holy Angels; and of all the Apostles, except St. Peter and St. Paul.[5] Whereas in the Church of England as also in the Lutheran and other Reformed Churches,[6] after the Reformation, a moderate number of

[1] [Idcirco vero ejusmodi festum imminui posse autumamus, tum quia neque a Concilio Remensi..... festis diebus accensetur; tum etiam quia cum ex præscriptis Baronii et Durandi locis ad abolendas Gentilium superstitiones, et evellenda funditus Lupercalia, seu etiam ad delendam omnino lustrationem Urbis quæ Romæ agebatur in honorem Deorum infernalium, maxime vero Februi, id est Plutonis, fuerit institutum,.....nihil causæ videtur esse cur illud festum retineatur, &c.] J. Bapt. Thiers de fest. dier. immin. Lugd. 1668. c. li.

[2] [An non enim prophana Epiphaniæ convivia, in quibus convivantes ut plurimum potitant plus æquo cibis sese ingurgitant, et lasciva miscent colloquia, bonos mores labefactare censenda sunt?.....estque ludicri ac paucarum horarum regni judicium; ita ut patrefamilias aut alio convivatore pronuntiante "Phœbe," ac deinde "Cujus erit," nihil innuatur aliud quam "Faba cujus erit," hoc est, "Quis nobis rex erit?"] ibid. cap. xlix.

[3] Adsumptionis celebritatem servari par est. ibid. c. lii. p. 339.

[4] [vid. Thiers. cap. l.]

[5] ["Festum omnium Sanctorum et Commemoratio fidelium defunctorum, dimitti possunt."] ibid. cap. liii.

["S. Michaelis Archangeli festum sive Dedicationis sive Adparitionis, sive Revelationis, rescindi potest."] ibid. cap. liv.

[Remanentibus Natalis S. Joannis Baptistæ et SS. Apostolorum Patri ac Pauli solemniis; aliorum undecim Apostolorum....festa imminui possunt.] ibid. cap. lv.

[6] ["The Protestant Churches of Switzerland keep all the days which the Church of England hath set apart for commemoration of the mysteries of our redemption through Jesus Christ, &c.....The like is done in other reformed churches in Germany, Hungary and Transylvania.....in them of Hessen.....in the reformed churches of the great dukedom of Lithuania.....in those of Minor Polonia, as likewise those of Moravia."]

Durell, of Ref. Ch. sect. i. p. 25, 26. Chemnit. Exam. par. 4. p. 157, 158.

Festivals were appointed,[1] for the same reasons that the sober Romanists have desired many of theirs might be rescinded.

The further behaviour of the Church in her Feasts, most useful and prudent.

2. Another consideration which moderates the number of Festivals in our Church is, several of them fall in with the Lord's Day: and indeed most of them have relation to our Blessed Lord, and his Apostles: so that from the very design of the festival, "the hard-handed artizan may learn the name and meaning of some Article of his Creed," as Bishop Taylor speaks;[2] and by such anniversary remembrances of "his faith," may at once help his memory and devotion: both which among the Romanists are much overcharged with the exceeding number of Festivals; and also by them the mean man is much hindered from maintaining his family, and paying his dues; in the poor man's Almanack, the number of Festivals on one side, increasing the number of debts on the other, together confound his devotion and his estate: whereas in our Calendar, the Festivals are set down with such choice, as Bishop Hall somewhere hath noted, that the meaner sort by skill in their Almanack, may be taught their Christian faith.[3]

We celebrate the memory of Saints, but of none whose existence or sanctity is uncertain.

3. As we cannot but account it a very scandalous reproach, which some of the Romanists have used, that[4] "Catholics have some Saints, Protestants none; so they may know, we celebrate such whom the true Catholic Church always hath celebrated: and which are also celebrated by many of the

[1] v. "Thacte of Abrogate Holy-Dayes." [Bp. Sparrow's Coll. p. 225.]

K. Edw. VI. Inj. 1547. ibid. p. 8.

Q. Eliz. Inj. 1559. § 46. ib.

Nam et festos dies Protestantes, legum præscripto, utcunque tenent, eosdem pene omnes quos antiquitus celebravit Ecclesia, &c.

N. Sander. de Schism. Angl. Col. Agr. 1628. lib. iii. p. 284.

[2] Pref. to Collection of Offices, § 36.

[3] "Quia horum quinque Capitum anniversaria et accuratior ex professo tractatio, et recurrens meditatio, est veluti quædam anniversaria Catecheseos Christianæ inculcatio, populo nostro ipsique clero admodum fructuosa."

Forbesii op. Amstel. 1703. Irenic. lib. i. cap. vii. § 4.

[4] Wm. Richworth. Dialogue 3. p. 401. Par. 1640.

Reformed Churches:[1] yea, and as we have had our Saints, so our Church hath had her Martyrs too, which are more than common Saints, who have been glorious witnesses of the moderation of our Church, and of the extreme rigours of our Church's adversaries on either hand: in the remembrance of whom, as Bishop Cosins[2] hath taken notice, "such is the wisdom and moderation of our Church, she hath taken one solemn day of the year to magnify God for the generality of his Saints together; hereby avoiding the burden and unnecessary number of Festival days:" neither is the memory of any Saint among us celebrated, of whose sanctity, much more, of whose existence, we are uncertain.[3] So far is our Church from allowing the Roman way of apotheosis, whose Calendar affords a red letter for some who have died for the blackest and foulest crimes. Nor doth our Church obtrude upon those of her communion any apocryphal legends[4] or fables of Saints: nor receives any false revelations or visions for the keeping new Festivals.

The excellent ends of our church's honour to Saints, are set down.

4. The ends propounded in our Church why we celebrate the memory of Saints, are most just and unexceptionable;

[1] Confess. Helvet. cap. v. pp. 21, 22. Conf. Bohem. ch. iii. pp. 27, 28.

[2] It was the great wisdom and moderation of those religious grave prelates, whom by God (of his special blessing unto our Church above others) did reform such things as were in any ways amiss among us, to choose one solemn day alone, wherein to magnify God, &c., together.....hereby, &c.

Bp. Cosins' Pr. Dev. Pref. to Calendar. Lond. 1655.

[3] Life of St. Thomas of Canterbury [à Becket] Colon. 1639. p. 385. v. Consid. of present Concernment, § 9.

V. Cæsar Baronius. Martyrol. 1603. pp. 811, 812.

Macte animo, macte virtute, Anglicanorum nobilissime ac gloriosissime cœtus, qui tam illustri militiæ nomen dedisti, ac Sacramento sanguinem spospondisti: æmulor sane vos Dei æmulatione, cum vos Martyrii Candidatos, ac nobilissimæ purpuræ Martyres [designatos] aspicio.....Quæ verba dixit vir gravissimus non solum de his, qui temporibus Elizabethæ, sed etiam de his, qui suo etiam tempore sub Jacobo propter similem causam passi sunt.

Suarii Def. Fid. Cath. Conimb. 1613. De veris Anglican. Martyr. lib. vi. cap. xi. p. 768.

[4] [An aliunde hæreses suas ceperunt hæretici quam ex dictis mysticorum librorum? sed quæ inscitia et arrogantia sua depravarunt, dum malunt illa ad suam opinionem detorquere, quam mentem suam illis accommodare.]

Ludov. Vives de causis corrupt. artium. lib. ii. p. 89. Valent. Edetan. 1785.

v. Thiers de fest. imminutione. Lugd. 1668. c. l. p. 323.

namely, that we may bless God for their gifts and graces, which have been eminent in them; which we magnify and celebrate, that we may more cheerfully be enlivened to imitate[1] them, and breathe after the glory they possess; there being one general assembly of the church militant on earth, and triumphant in heaven: Wherefore we pray on All-Saints' day, that God who hath "knit together his elect, in one communion and fellowship in the mystical body of his Son Jesus Christ our Lord, would grant us grace, so to follow his blessed Saints, in all virtuous and godly living, that we may come to those unspeakable joys," &c. But we are not convinced of the necessity to acknowledge, that by the solemnities of Saints we can procure interest in their merits, or are thereby helped by their prayers.

That they are Festivally commemorated, not out of opinion of worship, or merit, or absolute necessity thereof to Religion.

5. Many are the excesses which by the opinion of merits, the Church of Rome hath run into: this hath been the fund for the treasury of their Church; and hereon hath been framed the artifice of Indulgences. Wherefore though our Church hath the greatest honour for the Saints departed that need to be, yet doth she not think that the Saints on earth ever merited for themselves, much less for others: according to the sense of the Romanists, which is, "that[2] their lamps always run over: able to satisfy, not only for their own [sins] but also for all other their benefactors, brothers and sisters of [their] religion:" "keeping in divers places, marts or markets of merits, being full of [their] holy relics," and "works of

[1] Illud citra noxam omnibus potest inculcari, divos ac divas optime coli imitando vitam illorum.

Erasm. op. Lugd. Bat. 1704. t. v. col. 501. De amab. eccl. conc.

Τιμὴ γὰρ μαρτύρων ὀυ τὸ παραγενέσθαι πρὸς ἀυτοὺς μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸ τούτου τὸ ζηλωσαι τὴν ἀνδρείαν ἀυτων.

Chrysost. op. Par. 1718. in Julian. M. tom. ii. p. 677.

Τοὺς δὲ μάρτυρας, ὡς μαθητὰς τοὺ Κυριου καὶ μιμητὰς ἀγαπῶμεν ἀξίως.

Euseb. Eccl. Hist. Cantab. 1720. lib. iv. c. xv. p. 171.

[2] Hom. of Good Works, Pt. iii.

De thesauro Ecclesiæ superfluentium satisfactionum B. Mariæ, et aliorum Sanctorum et dispensatione per Ecclesiam. vid. Bellarm.

["Extat thesaurus aliquis in ecclesia qui est fundamentum indulgentiarum."

Bellarm. de indulg. lib. i. c. ii. [tit.]

"Est in ecclesia potestas applicandi thesaurum satisfactionum, ac per hoc indulgentias concedendi."] Ibid. c. iii. [tit.]

over-flowing abundance ready to be sold." Therefore we observe the wise moderation of our Church in taking particular care, that on our Saints' days, all our prayers be offered, "in and through the mediation of Christ our Lord," in whose merits only we place any hope: and our Homily concerning Faith saith; "In the second of the Ephesians, the meaning of the Apostle is not, to induce us to have any affiance, or to put any confidence in our works, as by the merit or deserving[1] of them, to purchase to ourselves or others, remission of sin; for that were mere blasphemy against God's mercy."[2]

Our Church runs not into any excess, in any Prayer to Saints.

6. Very many also have been the excesses of the Church of Rome in praying to Saints departed; wherein, beside that their doctrine relies on what is false and uncertain, namely, that they so well know our particular conditions, and are ready at hand to hear our prayers;[3] since it is none of their office to attend us, neither have they any commission from God to intercede for us: yet the Romanists often pray solemnly to saints, for what is only proper for God to bestow; and thereby attribute unto creatures the incommunicable honour of the Creator.[4] Whereas our Church both practiseth and requires prayer and invocation unto God only: it nowhere applies the Lord's Prayer, or the Psalms of David, unto the Virgin Mary, or any of the Saints; nor alloweth nuncupating of vows, or offering sacrifices to Saints, nor carrying about their[5] images and relics with theatrical pomp, as if they were inhabited shrines of the divine blessing and favour; giving temptation to the amused people, to exhibit to them religious honour, peculiarly due to the essential

[1] Deus proprie nulli debitor est, nisi forsitan ex gratuito promisso, quanquam et hoc ipsum ut præstemus promissi conditionem, illius est munificentiæ.
Erasm. op. Lugd. Bat. 1704. de amab. eccl. concor. t. v. col. 500.

[2] [Hom. of Good Works. Pt. i.]

[3] v. Hom. of Prayer, Pt. ii.

[4] v. Hom. of the peril of Idolatry.

[5] Nec video in multis quod sit discrimen inter eorum opinionem de Sanctis et id quod Gentiles putabant de suis Diis.
Lud. Vives in Aug. de Civ. D. lib. viii. c. xxvii. ed. Froben. Basil. 1522.

sanctity of God: the doing of which, the Saints themselves do most of all abhor:[1] for as our Homily of Prayer hath it, "The Saints and Angels in heaven will not have us to do any honour unto them, which is due and proper unto God." "If any man," saith Mr. Perkins,[2] "can shew us the bodily relic of any true Saint, and prove it so to be; though we will not worship it, yet will we not despise it, but keep it as a monument, if it may conveniently be done without offence."

Nor with reference to Images.

7. The special moderation of our Church of England with relation to the images of Saints, is best expressed in the Injunctions of King Edward VI. 1547.[3] "All ecclesiastical persons" are to teach "their Parishioners, that Images serve for no other purpose, but to be a remembrance, whereby men may be admonished, of the holy lives and conversations of them [that] the said Images [do] represent:"[4] where we see our Church is not for defacing of Images so far as they are only historical[5] monuments, and instruments of remembrance and affection; but against the abuse of them. It follows in the Injunction, "which Images, if any abuse for other intent, they commit idolatry in the same, to the great danger of their souls." So the Homily[6] takes notice, how Image Worshippers, "as all things that be amiss, have from a tolerable beginning, grown worse and worse, till at last they

[1] Ἠσαν μὲν γὰρ δέησιν, καὶ προσευχὴν, καὶ ἔντευξιν, καὶ εὐχαριστίαν, ἀναπεμπτέον τῷ ἐπὶ πᾶσι Θεῷ. Orig. cont. Cels. lib. v. § 4. Par. 1733. tom. i. p. 580. Euseb. lib. iv. c. xv. Eccl. Hist. Reformed Catholic, § 14. conclu. 2. p. 594.

[2] [Perkins.]

[3] [Bp. Sparrow's Coll. p. 2.]

[4] Nos unam veneramur Imaginem, quæ est Imago invisibilis et Omnipotentis Dei. Hieron. op. Basil. 1516. in Ezech. tom. v. fol. 199.

[5] Et quidem zelum vos, ne quid manufactum adorari posset, habuisse laudavimus, sed frangere easdem imagines non debuisse indicamus. Idcirco enim pictura in ecclesiis adhibetur ut hi qui literas nesciunt, saltem in parietibus videndo legant quæ legere in codicibus non valent. Tua ergo fraternitas et illas servare, et ab earum adoratu populum prohibere debuit: quatenus et literarum nescii haberent unde scientiam historiæ colligerent, et populus in picturæ adoratione minime peccaret.
Greg. Magn. tom. ii. lib. vii. ep. 105. lib. ix. Indict. ii. col. 1006. Par. 1705.

[6] Hom. of Idolatry, Pt. ii.

became intolerable:"[1] as is excellently set forth in the fourteenth chapter of Wisdom: the corruption of which doctrines and practices in the Church of Rome[2] is such, that they thereby give a great scandal to the Jews, and the Mahometans: and the same is very much aggravated by their expunging out of their Fathers, sundry passages which speak most plainly against such practices.[3] From all those instances we may observe, how steadily our Church doth manage itself between defect and excess of honour to the saints departed this life in the faith and fear of God: for the celebration of saints here is not out of any opinion of worship of them, or merit by that celebration, or any absolute necessity thereof to religion, otherwise than that it is exceeding comely that God should be honoured in his Saints.[4]

I may add here also what hath been observed of the "modesty of" our "church reformed," That to avoid excess of Dedications (wherein others are "too" burthensome), she sometimes uniteth two of the Apostles at once in one "Festivity;" as "St. Simon and Jude:—St. Philip and James."[5]

Whether our Church in any of these

8. The more immoderate is their reproach, who brand our reformed Church for being guilty of Popery, only because

[1] Ad extremam vanitatem quam Ethnici in suis simulachris et imaginibus effigendis et exornandis admiserunt, &c.

Cassandri Consultatio. Lugd. 1608. p. 176.

[2] [Imagines porro Christi, deiparæ virginis, et aliorum sanctorum in templis præsertim habendas et retinendas, eisque debitum honorem et venerationem impertiendam.] Concil. Trid. sess. xxv. tom. x.

[3] Sancti] *dele*, Sancti quomodo honorandi, non adorandi.

Index Expurg. Class. ii. p. 43.

Adorare] *dele*, Solus Deus adorandus.

Ind. Expurg. Genev. 1619. Class. ii. p. 42.

[4] Ea quippe anniversarie in ecclesia celebrantur, quæ insigniter excellentia certis diebus facta sunt, ut eorum necessariam salubremque memoriam festivitas concelebrata custodiat.

Aug. op. Basil. 1542. contr. Faust. lib. xxxii. cap. xii. col. 483.

[5] Scintilla Altaris. By Edw. Sparke, D.D. Lond. 1666. p. 407.

the memory of the just among us is blessed.[1] Notwithstanding those very exceptors are really like the Romanists, canonizing and sainting one another for being of some particular humour and faction: in this for one, that they will not keep a Festival, or remember an Apostle with honour. Indeed in the church of Rome they have canonized the worst of men; and let any one tell the difference, when many of those others saint each other, and affect no other title but of your "Holiness." And here, let any equal and intelligent Christians judge, whether those who hold communion with the Church of God, notwithstanding sundry infirmities and failings—ought not—and may not more properly, according to the style of Scripture—to be called Saints, than those who separate from the outward communion of God's Church, although they usurp the name peculiarly to themselves. And here we cannot but observe the modesty of those in communion with the Church of England: (which is true Christian moderation:) they never were so forward to rush suddenly, as it were, into the Holy of Holies, in calling themselves and one another absolute saints: but rather, while they are in their way and pilgrimage—choose to be honoured with more modest titles: even as Pythagoras in all ages hath been commended for his moderation, in laying aside the great name of "wise," and chose rather to be called a "lover of wisdom."

practices, be justly charged of Popery, by those, who Canonise among themselves those who are of uncertain sanctity.

9. The same moderation which our Church useth toward saints, she observeth likewise with respect to the Holy Angels: yea, indeed great is the modesty and sober wisdom of our church, in that it is nowhere excessively curious, nor positive in determining of the nature, actions, knowledge, number, orders, or special guardianship of Angels. Our church doth not deny that there is a distinct order of Angels, but nowhere takes upon her to shew how those orders are disposed: but avoiding the extreme of those who are stupidly

The Moderation of our Church in its honour given to Angels.

[1] Colimus ergo Martyres eo cultu dilectionis et societatis, quo et in hac vita coluntur sancti homines Dei quorum cor ad talem pro evangelica veritate passionem paratum esse sentimus.

Aug. op. Par. 1836. cont. Faust. lib. xx. tom. viii. p. 545.

insensible of the conduct of holy Angels, the Church of England doth glorify God for their creation, for their admirable order and ministry, and affection to us: we pray to God we may imitate their readiness and cheerfulness in praising and serving him, and ministering daily for the good of others; yet our Church hath always held the Angels to be in the number of those who worship, and not of those who are worshipped: and, for us to worship those who are themselves worshippers, would be such a voluntary humility as is sinful; namely, to address ourselves to such substitutes as God nowhere hath appointed to receive his peculiar honour:[1] which the Synod of Laodicea (A.D. 364) calls Idolatry.

And to the Blessed Virgin.

10. The like moderation doth our Church excellently well observe in the honour she gives to the Ever Blessed Virgin Mary, so highly favoured of God, as to be the Mother of our Lord; whom our Church celebrates, and always humbly calls her "Blessed." And as it is in the "Institution of a Christian man," set forth by the Convocation, 1537,[2] "we may worthily say, that she is the most blessed of all other women:"[3] and we nowhere doubt but she is highly graced in heaven, as she received a most special privilege upon earth. But our church doth nowhere believe that she had an immaculate conception, which the Romanists celebrate with an holy-day on purpose: neither doth our church believe, she was ever raised from the dead, and assumed into heaven; which they solemnize with another festival. Neither did

[1] Ἀγγέλους γὰρ καλέσαι μὴ ἀναλαβόντας τὴν ὑπὲρ ἀνθρώπους περὶ αὐτῶν ἐπιστήμην οὐκ εὔλογον.

Orig. cont. Cels. Par. 1733. tom. i. lib. v. § 5. p. 580.

Nec invocationibus angelicis facit aliquid, nec incantationibus, nec reliqua prava curiositate; sed munde et manifeste orationes dirigentes ad Dominum qui omnia fecit, &c. Iren. adv. hær. Oxon. 1702. lib. ii. cap. lvii.

[2] P. 46.

[3] Maria Mater Domini principatum inter Mulieres tenuit.

St. Aug. Serm. 136.

Hanc ego Christi Matrem veneror—sed non illi Divæ modo, sed et Deæ nomen tribuens. R. Jac. Apol. pro Jur.

"Honor Reginæ judicium diligit, Virgo Regia falso non eget honore."

Bernard. op. Par. 1632. Ep. 174. col. 1537.

Erasmus[1] without cause admire how it came to pass they salute the mother of Christ with more religion than they invoke Christ himself, or the Holy Spirit, calling her the "fountain of all grace;" and sundry expressions they use of the like affiance in the authority and merit of the Blessed Virgin, to succour, help, and save sinners, as may be seen in the Rosary and Psalter, and specially Litanies to the Virgin Mary.[2] In their form of auricular Confession, they are taught thus to begin,[3] "I confess to the omnipotent God, to the blessed Mary, always Virgin," &c., and when they enter into their monasteries, they vow themselves "to God and the Blessed Virgin;" and in all things they are so "super-devout" to the Virgin, that an oath by her is accounted most sacred; and any of the Festivals may be sooner expunged than that of her Assumption into Heaven; and although they prohibit the Bible, yet they freely suffer sundry books of devotion to the Virgin Mary in the mother tongue.

ὑπερδουλία.

11. Our Church hath taken great care, that a special honour be had to the Lord's Day: and that neither the Lord's day, nor any other Festival, be abused to luxury or impiety:[4]

Our Church hath taken great care, that a special honour be had to the

[1] Mirum vero unde mos inoleverit, quo nunc plerique perorato Exordio, salutant beatissimam Christi matrem, idque majore religione, quam invocant Christum, aut illius Spiritum, appellantes eam omnis gratiæ fontem.

Erasm. Eccles. op. Lugd. Bat. 1704. t. v. col. 873.

[2] Quin et eo ventum est ut etiam Christus jam in cœlo regnans, matri subjiciatur: quomodo in nonnullis ecclesiis canitur:

Ora matrem et jube filio;
O felix puerpera,
Nostra pians scelera,
Jure matris Impera
Redemptori.

Consult. Cassand. Lugd. 1608. Art. xxi. p. 155.

Cum vix aliud in toto sacrorum choro sit alienius a scripturis sanctis et quod cum Evangelio Christi atque doctrina Apostolica perditius pugnet.

G. Wicelii Elenchus Abusuum. Brown's Fascic. Lon. 1690. tom. ii. p. 747.

[3] Manuale Confessionum, cap. x. p. 128.

[4] Hæccine dies solemnes principum decent, quæ alios dies non decent?

Tertull. Apol. cap. xxxv. Lutet. Par. 1664.

Ita et festa moderanda erunt ut neque nimia indicentur neque quæ indicta fuerint, tam flagitiose profanentur. Bucer. Censur. cap. xxvi. p. 494.

Lord's Day; and that the Lord's Day, nor any other Festival, be abused to Luxury and Impiety.

it appears from the offices in our Liturgy, the Rubrics, Canons, Homilies, and Statutes of the land, and Injunctions of our Kings since the Reformation, that there hath been a first and special care taken for the holy celebration of Sunday or Lord's Day: wherein we are equal to any Church among the Reformed;[1] the other Festivals being over-ruled, that in a concurrence of offices they may not disturb its solemnity: the very religious observation of which is earnestly also persuaded in our Homilies: and especially in the thirteenth Canon (with which agree the Injunctions of King Edward VI. and Queen Elizabeth) requiring, [2]"all manner of persons within this Church of England, that from henceforth they celebrate and keep the Lord's Day, commonly called Sunday, and other Holy days, according to God's holy will and pleasure, and the Orders of the Church of England prescribed in that behalf; that is, in hearing of the Word of God read and taught, in private and public Prayers, in acknowledging their offences to God, and amendment of the same; in reconciling themselves charitably to their neighbours where displeasure hath been, in oftentimes receiving the Holy Communion of the [very] body and blood of Christ, in visiting of the poor and sick," and "using all good and sober Conversation." Much to the same purpose is largely insisted on in the Homily of place and time of Prayer.

"All persons," saith the late Statute,[3] "shall on every Lord's Day apply themselves to the observation of the same, by exercising themselves [thereon] in the duties of Piety and true Religion, publicly and privately; and [that] no Tradesman shall do or exercise any worldly labour, [business or work of their ordinary callings upon the Lord's day, or any part

[1] Neque tanta reverentia sacra tractantur per omnem Romam ac Italiam, ac apud nos unoquoque istorum Festo, in quavis fere per universam Angliam Ecclesia.

Ric. Crakanthorp, D.D. Defens. Eccl. Angl. Lond. 1625. cap. liv. p. 339.

[2] [Inj. § 20. Bp. Sparrow's Coll. p. 69.]

Coimus ad Deum, quasi manu facta, precationibus ambiamus ..... coimus ad divinarum literarum commemorationem; si quid præsentium temporum qualitas aut præmonere cogit, aut recognoscere. Certe fidem sanctis vocibus pascimus, spem erigimus, fiduciam figimus, disciplinam præceptorum nihilominus inculcationibus densamus. Tert. Apol. cap. xxxix. Lutet. Par. 1664.

[3] 29° Car. II. c. vii. Statut. of the Realm, vol. v.

thereof,] works of necessity and charity only excepted. [1]Which statute of the Kingdom seems to have taken its rule of moderation from our excellent Homilies, Which do reprove those who "ride journeys," "buy and sell," and "make all days alike:" who profane such holy times by pride and other excesses: "albeit" the same Homily declares, the "Commandment of God doth not bind Christian people so straitly to observe [and keep] the utter ceremonies of the Sabbath day, as it was given to the Jews,[2] as touching forbearing of work and labour in time of [great] necessity: and so the Injunctions of King Edward VI. and Queen Elizabeth, § 20, conclude,[3] "Notwithstanding, all Parsons, Vicars, and Curates, shall teach and declare unto their Parishioners, that they may with a safe and quiet conscience, [in the time of harvest,] after Common-Prayer, labour upon the Holy and Festival Days, and save that thing which God hath sent." So by King Edward VI. it was ordered, that the Lords of the Council should upon every Sunday attend the public affairs of the Realm: the Church also, and the laws of the Kingdom, have taken the same wise care to set such Holy Days in every term,[4] that beside the ordinary Vacations, there may be some days of respite from secular businesses, and contests of law, for the exercises of peace, charity, and devotion: so careful have our Laws in Church and Kingdom been to avoid pro-

[1] Omnes judices urbanæque plebes, et cunctarum artium officia, venerabili die solis quiescant. Codex Justin. Antuerp. 1575. lib. iii. p. 128. Tit. de Feriis.

[2] Audimus apud Bohemos exoriri novum Judæorum genus, Sabbatarios appellant qui tanta superstitione servant sabbatum, ut si quid eo die inciderit in oculum, nolint eximere, quasi non sufficiat eis pro Sabbato dies Dominicus, qui Apostolis etiam erat sacer, aut quasi Christus non satis expresserit, quantum tribuendum sit Sabbato. Erasm. de amab. Concord. col. 506.

[3] Inj. K. Edw. VI. p. 8. Q. Eliz. Inj. p. 69.

[4] Taceat apparitio, advocatio delitescat; nihil eodem die sibi vendicat scena theatralis. Cod. Tit. de feriis. lib. iii.

v. Thacte "Of Abrogate Holy Dayes," K. Hen. VIII. 1536. v. K. Hen. VIII. Inj. (Bp. Sparrow's Coll.)

(Bp. Burnet's) Hist. of Ref. lib. iii. p. 161.

Legum conditores festos instituerunt dies, ut ad hilaritatem homines publice cogerentur tanquam necessarium laboribus interponentes temperamentum. Senecæ op. Antuerpiæ, 1652. De Tranquill. cap. xv.

faneness on one hand, and on the other hand all sorts of superstition; that is, either Heathenish or Jewish usages as such. For as the Homily of Prayer earnestly blames them, who abuse holy times and places with intolerable superstitions, as hath been in use in the Church of Rome; so on the other hand, it doth not countenance those opinions which tend to establish among us such observances as were peculiar to the Jews. After the recital of the fourth Commandment in the Decalogue, our Church prays, "That our hearts be inclined to keep that Law;" therein rightly acknowledging a moral equity, that Christians should observe such a proportion of time as hath been the practice of the Church: in which time all impediments to sacred and religious duties, public or private, are to be avoided according to the equity of the divine law, and the precept of God's Church.

The Moderation of our church, in its judgment of the Lord's Day, Bishop Bramhall hath observed, from the Homily of the Church, as concurrent with his own judgment:[1] 1. That "the Homily denieth not the Lord's Day the name of Sabbath:" That it "finds no Law of the Sabbath in Gen. ii. 3." That "the Homily finds no Seventh Day's Sabbath before Moses his time;" "The Homily gives no power to the fourth Commandment, as it was given to the Jews, to oblige Christians, but only as it was, and so far as it was a Law of nature:" "The Homily makes the first day of the week to signify the Lord's Day:" "The Homily makes the end of changing the weekly Festival of the Church to have been in honour of Christ's resurrection:" "The Homily derives the Lord's Day down from the Ascension of Christ immediately." But the Homily doth express, that the fourth Commandment doth not bind Christians over-streightly; Not to the external Ceremonies of the Sabbath: not to the rigorous part of it to forbear all work. As to the question, "by what authority this change was made, I find no cause to doubt," (saith the Bishop,) "but that it was made by the authority of Christ; that is, by divine authority. It is true that we find no express precept recorded in Holy Scripture

[1] Discourse of the Sabbath, and Lord's Day. Works. Dublin, 1676. tom. iv. p. 933.

for the setting apart the first day of the Week for the service of God: Neither is it necessary, that there should be such an express precept for it, found in Holy Scripture, to prove it to be of divine right. The perpetual and universal practice of the Catholic Church, including all the Apostles themselves, is a sufficient proof of the divine right of it, that at least it was an Apostolical Institution and Ordinance, not temporary," "but perpetual."

The Moderation of the Church, with reference to its Music and Psalmody.

12. With the Festivals it may not be improper to join the notice of the moderation of our Church, in reference to her Music and Psalmody; wherein the constitution of our Church sheweth us the true temper of religion, which as it is the most serious, so it is the most pleasant of all performances, and is most suited to the nature, temper, and condition of man, in which joy and sorrow have a very interchangeable interest: therefore St. James saith, "Is any afflicted, let him pray; is any merry, let him sing Psalms:" accordingly in our Church, prayer and praise fill up the measures of Divine Worship; and can there be any performance more pleasant, than to join with, and imitate the heavenly host in the high praises of God?—Neither doth our Church judge it enough for us to make melody in our hearts to the Lord, but doth require us to serve God also with our [1] voices and our hearing, and our affections raised by Psalms, and Hymns, and Doxologies, and mutual incitements to praise God, and by musical instruments also, where they may be had; that we may set forth the praises of God with all our faculties, and in the most elevated manner we are capable.

Jam. v. 13.

In our Church is proposed to us great variety, in which we may entertain our cheerful devotion. For Psalms, we have the divinely inspired Psalms of David, from whence every one, according to their condition, may be furnished with most excellent forms of praise and joy in God, according to their several circumstances. For Hymns[2] of Praise, we have

[1] Omnes affectus spiritus nostri pro sui diversitate habere proprios modos in voce atque cantu, quorum nescio qua occulta familiaritate excitentur.
Aug. Confess. Par. 1836. lib. x. c. 33. tom. i. p. 317.

[2] ὑμνήσαντες. [Matth. xxvi. 30.]

select forms taken out of holy Scripture, or in use in the ancient Church; in the variety of which (with Doxologies also and Hallelujahs) we are entertained and delighted. We have also in laudable use, many excellent spiritual Songs[1] of more artificial composure;[2] so that we may praise God according to the utmost of our abilities.

With these the Moderation of the Church doth not only call off her people from vain, obscene, and impious songs, which do the devil's work in a sure and insensible manner, which is to debauch and vitiate the dispositions and natures of such as use them: but hereby we are furnished also to "speak to ourselves," and to "admonish one another," as the Apostle exhorts, "in psalms and hymns and spiritual songs, singing with grace, making melody in our hearts to the Lord." In which our Church, with the Apostle, doth chiefly endeavour to promote the grace and devotion of the heart, which is most worthy to inspire our praise; the sincere elevation of the spirit being the life of all our psalmody, even that half which makes the whole, without which the tongues of men and angels, as without charity, are like sounding brass or a tinkling cymbal. Where this grace of the heart is united with the melody of the voice, we may entertain ourselves with that joy in God, which is the most refined sort of delight we can enjoy: we join with the Church militant on earth, and the Church triumphant in heaven: we make the best use of that gift of speech which we have given us to interpret our thoughts by articulate voice, and stir up our own and others' affections to set forth the high praises of the most excellent

Eph. v. 19. Col. iii. 16.

[1] Adfirmabant autem, hanc fuisse summam vel culpæ suæ, vel erroris, quod essent soliti stato die ante lucem convenire, carmenque Christo, quasi Deo, dicere secum invicem. C. Plin. Sec. Epist. ad Traj. xcvii. Lipsiæ. 1805.

[2] Cantica vero dicuntur peculiares quædam et magis artificiosæ cantiones, quæ et ipsæ laudes complectebantur, sed angustiore quadam forma quam psalmi aut hymni, ut licet ex exemplis cognoscere.

Beza in Coloss. iii. 16. Cantab. 1642.

E re Christiana foret, si in tota ecclesia, maxime posteaquam huc deventum est, cantiones quasdam populo intellectas, ad usum pietatis permitterent præsules.

G. Wicelii Via Regia ad Artic. de Miss. Brown's Fascic. Lond. 1690. t. ii. p. 719.

Majesty of God, whom it becomes us to serve not only with our nature, but our skill.

If we ought to praise God with melody, then a grave and solemn music, which is useful to govern the melody and also increase it, may be useful to the praise and worship of God: and if persons love what is costly as well as useful in their private houses, why should any envy themselves or others some comely magnificence in the holy service of God? especially when such an instrument may make our affections, as well as our singing, more regular and composed.

Neither is this help to melody ever the worse, because David used it in the holy service of God. He praised God in the most excellent manner he could, upon harp and organ, and such musical instruments as were in use for the honour of God, and called upon others very earnestly and instantly to praise God with the same: and it may be noted, that praising God by assistance of instrumental music was more ancient than giving the Law in Sinai; more ancient than the ceremonies of the tabernacle or the temple: wherefore it is rather to be esteemed the effect of natural Religion, than any ceremonial law of Moses, of which the music David used was no part: and being never appointed, was never abolished; (according to the mistake of the Geneva notes, and of many others from them; whereas they might have been taught otherwise from Calvin[1] himself, in his comment upon Coloss. iii. 16, where he expoundeth a Psalm to be that, in the singing of which, some musical Instrument is used beside the tongue;) and in that David used the help of instrumental music, although there was no express command of God for so doing; much more among Christians,[2] who

Exod. xv. 20.

[1] Psalmus sit in quo concinendo adhibetur Musicum aliquod Instrumentum præter linguam.

Calvin in Col. iii. 16. Comment. in omnes Pauli epist. Genev. 1600.

Ergo si quis putet his verbis damnari Musicam longe fallitur, quemadmodum ex circumstantia apparet. Calvin. Prælect. xlii. in Amos. cap. vi. v. 5.

[2] De cantu Christianorum tria hic notanda sunt: Primum est, omnino licitum et pium esse, psalmos, aliosque hymnos, sive domi privatim, sive publice in Ecclesia canere, tum quia praxis sanctorum in V. et N. Test. id ipsum omnino ostendit, tum quia omnes et corporis et animæ vires ad Dei gloriam

are not required to look for particular commands extraordinary, some things may be used as circumstances and helps in the worship of God, which are not required by any express text of Scripture: so that from the example of David, we are neither bound up to a strict imitation of every thing he did; neither doth the Church neglect his example, where the reason remains the same; but makes use of its Christian liberty, as it judgeth most for edification and good order in the service of God.[1] Where may be observed the moderation of our Church, in that Music is used not as of necessity, but of choice: and though the Psalmody appointed in our Church is that which recites the divine praises as much as may be in the words of the inspired Psalmists; although "singing of Psalms in metre is no part of our Liturgy," yet great is the moderation and condescension of our Church, in permitting an accommodation in this matter to the most imperfect: as indeed the whole use also of Music is in condescension to the imperfection of our state, because our affections are more stirred up by the same means as our voices and melody are assisted..

The moderation of our Church may be further observed herein, in that nothing is ordered to be sung with instrumental Music, but what is taken out of Holy Scripture.[2] All is sung in the common language. The Music only governs and moderates the Song, and increaseth the melody. Our Music and Singing is such as St. Austin commended at Alexandria, nearer pronouncing than singing:

merito impenduntur; tum etiam, quia per cantum ipsi devotionem animi accendi, ipsumque animum quodammodo subvehi experimur. Id quod adversus quosdam fanaticos et nimium tetricos spiritus observandum est, qui cantum, præsertim Ecclesiasticum, pro Antichristiano habent.

Conr. Vorstius in Epist. Ap. Comment. 1631. in Eph. v. 19. (v. Loci Communes.)

[1] Si non placet in templis illud modulatæ musicæ genus, et organorum cantus, possunt si placet, citra pietatis jacturam omitti: si placet, curandum est ut illa quoque Musica sit digna templo Dei.

Erasm. op. Lugd. Bat. 1704. De amab. eccl. concord. t. v. col. 503.

MSS. * Ut veteris testamenti nihil poetice compositum

[2] XII. Item placuit, *ut [extra psalmos, vel canonicarum scripturarum novi et] veteris testamenti nihil poetice compositum in ecclesia psalletur; sicut et sancti præcipiunt Canones.

Concil. Bracar. II. Labbe, tom. v. 1671. col. 841.

designed wholly for edification, consistent with gravity[1] and Christian simplicity, answering the designs of religion; framed not only for delighting the ear, but affecting the heart,[2] and raising the devotion: wherefore as it is in the 49th Injunction of Queen Elizabeth,[3] "A modest and distinct song" is enjoined,[4] such that "the sentence of the Hymn may be understood."—"And for organs or other instruments of Music in God's worship, they being a help, partly natural, partly artificial, to the exhilarating the spirits, for the praise of God; I know no argument to prove them simply unlawful, but what would prove a cup of wine unlawful, or the tune, and metre, and melody of singing unlawful."[5]

And now we are discoursing of melody, the use of Bells[6] among us deserves our notice, since the Archbishop of Spalato hath taken particular observation how choicely we are furnished in our Kingdom, for assembling the congregation, for testimonies of public joy, and for pious admonition of Christian people to pray for such as are departing this life: but among us they are not used with any superstitions:[7] what Cardinal Bellarmine[8] calls only Benediction of bells, is not

[1] Et certe si ad eam, quæ Dei et angelorum conspectum decet, gravitatem attemperatus sit cantus, cum dignitatem et gravitatem sacris actionibus conciliat, tum ad excitandos in verum precandi studium ardoremque animos, plurimum valet. Calv. Inst. lib. iii. cap. xx. § 32. Amst. 1667.

[2] Ut per oblectamenta aurium infirmior animus in affectum pietatis assurgat. Aug. Conf. lib. x. cap. xxxiii. t. i. Par. 1679.

[3] Bp. Sparrow's Coll. p. 75.

[4] Itaque operosam Musicam quæ figurata dicitur, auferri placet. v. Reform. Leg. Eccl. de Div. off. c. v. Lond. 1571.
vid. Vossium de poematum cantu et viribus rythmi. Oxon. 1673.

[5] Mr. Baxter's Christian Direct.

[6] Ubi pulchriores et plures, et magis sonoræ, etiam ad modos musicos confectæ campanæ quam in Anglia?
Ant. De Dominis, de Rep. Eccles. tom. ii. Francof. 1620. Ostensio Errorum P. F. Suarez, p. 291.

[7] Nec campanas superstitiose pulsari, vel in vigilia animarum, vel postridie omnium Sanctorum, qui dies non ita pridem geniis mortuorum sacer erat, nec omnino unquam, ubi pulsandi consuetudo ad superstitionem videbitur inclinare. Lib. quorund. Can. 1571. (Bp. Sparrow's Coll. p. 28.)

[8] [Primo quia nec benedictio monachorum, nec alia enumerata significant aut efficiunt gratiam justificantem, &c.]
Bellarm. op. Col. Agr. 1619. De Sacramentis, t. iii. lib. i. cap. xiii.

after that manner as might make it be thought they are christened.[1]

The Moderation of our appointed Fasts: The Lenten or Paschal Fast, how far Religious by the Precept of the Church.

13. Having observed the Moderation of the Church in its Feasts, the same also is very true of its Fasts: the keeping up of the Festivals and Fasts in the Greek church hath been observed as a chief means of preserving the Christian religion from sinking among them:[2] our church is neither so remiss as not to give any council or command for Fasting, nor suffers any (not Ministers) to appoint solemn Fasts without authority;[3] neither is she immoderate in what she enjoins, but observes its due measures as are most conducing to assist meditation, prayer, and the exercise of repentance, and works of piety. With fasting we join Alms, and the commemoration of what Christ hath done and suffered for us: and as among the Jews it was usual for them voluntarily to fast on that day, yearly, they buried their parents; so in the Christian Church, on the time that the Bridegroom was taken away, before the Paschal Festivity, the custom hath been to fast more or less. Some few times beside are appointed as opportunities to call off the mind from the blandishments of sense: mortification and temperance we are enjoined by our Christianity: and further, it appears to all most reasonable that there should be some seasons proper for fasting and mourning, which private persons may appoint to themselves;[4] much more the public authority of the Church, for the common good of all. In which appointed Fasts, let us well observe, that the precepts of the Church make no

[1] Item suffraganei excogitaverunt, ut solum ipsi, et nullus alius sacerdos, laicis campanas baptizent, credunt deinde simpliciores ita affirmantibus suffraganeis, tales campanas baptizatas dæmones et tempestates pellere.

Centum gravam. LI. Fascic. Edv. Browne. Lond. 1690. vol. i. p. 365.

[2] De Eccl. Gr. statu hodierno, p. 10.

Lib. quorund. Can. c. lxxii. p. 24. "Ministri publica jejunia," &c. (Bp. Sparrow's Coll. p. 340.)

[3] In observantiis afflictivis videtur providendum de aliqua moderatione.

Appendix ad Fascic. Edv. Browne. 1690.

Jejunium Ecclesiæ non debet abrogari; licebit moderari, ac in melius restitui. Wicelius in via Regia, p. 728.

[4] Tantum tibi jejuniorum modum impone, quantum ferre potes: sint tibi pura, casta, simplicia, moderata et non superstitiosa Jejunia.

Hieron. ad Nepot. de vit. cler. 1714. p. 185.

difference of meats, but require such an abstinence as may best subdue the flesh to the spirit. There are three ends of Fasting (saith the Homily). To chastise the flesh: That the spirit may be more fervent to Prayer: and that our Fast may be a witness with us before God of our humble submission to His Majesty: so that the difference of meats which we observe, is accidental to the commands of the Church, and not at all directly intended in it, but left to every one's Christian liberty and choice,[1] so long as the purposes of religion before mentioned be observed, and the commands of governors. Thus the Moderation of the Church leaves us here, as she finds us, in our Christian liberty.

But we are to consider, that it is part of the Christian liberty of public Governors, in cases left by God indifferent, therein to command, especially for public good: so that it is the law of the Kingdom only which straitens and confines our liberty from meats at some particular times. While therefore it is the law of the Kingdom, people must have a care of charging the Church with a superstitious difference of meats, because the Church of Rome usurps that power. The Statute indeed of Queen Elizabeth provides concerning observing Lent, and also that Lent be not counted a religious Fast: that is, by the Statute, None are to affirm, that any eating of fish, or forbearing of flesh, is of any necessity for saving the soul of man, or that it is the service of God, otherwise than as other politic laws are: for as the Homily[2] further expounds it: The "Laws of Princes" "are not made to put holiness in one kind of meat or drink more than another," "but are grounded merely on policy: all subjects, therefore, are bound in conscience to keep" these Laws: conscience, I say, not of the thing which is in its own nature indifferent, but of our obedience we owe to God's minister. According to which sense also must the laws be understood, which respect the Wednesday Fast (called by some the Jejunium Cecilianum[3])

[1] Itaque de cætero indifferenter jejunandum ex arbitrio, non ex imperio novæ disciplinæ pro temporibus et causis uniuscujusque, &c.
Tertull. op. Par. 1582. de jejun. adv. Psych. p. 645.

[2] Homily of Fasting.

[3] Quod putetur Gulielmi Cecilii esse inventum.
Nic. Sander. de schism. Angl. lib. iii. p. 285. Col. Agr. 1628.

If any person should affirm it to be imposed, with an intention to bind the conscience, he should be punished like a spreader of false news; that is, to burden the conscience with a superstitious difference of meats: or "as of necessity, to bind the conscience" by any Law "equivalent with the eternal word of God:" which are the words of the Advertisement of Queen Elizabeth, in her order of Ceremonies,[1] 1564.

Thus in the Visitation Articles of King Edward VI. The manner and kind of fasting in Lent, and other days in the year, is but a mere positive Law, and therefore all persons having just cause of sickness[2] or other necessity, or being licensed by the King's Majesty, may moderately eat all kinds of meats without grudge or scruple of conscience.

So careful is our church according to the practice of the ancient Church, that the Fasts be observed with all just and equitable moderation, lest any fall into "an excess of abstinence:"[3] but there is not one word in all the Liturgy, of the choice of meats.

Neither is this positive law of the kingdom the worse, but the better, because it may be obeyed upon a political account: and also secondly, may be rendered useful to the spiritual ends of Fasting, namely, to bring the body under subjection to the spirit,[4] which may justly make a Fast, a religious fast, as it ought to be: and thirdly, upon a natural reason also, the Fast of Lent happens luckily at such a time of year, namely in spring, when most constitutions may allow a greater moderation in diet for health's sake; so we have been taught. But in the morning Lectures against Popery [it] is asserted, that the physicians have unanimously taught,

Morning Lect. Serm. xxiv. p. 119. Labbe's Councils, 1st vol.

[1] Pref. to Advertisements. (Bp. Sparrow's Coll. p. 86.)]

[2] Ἐι μὴ δι' ἀσθένειαν σωματικὴν ἐμποδίζοιτο.

Can. Ap. 69. Pandect. Canon. G. Beveregii fol. Oxon. 1672, p. 45. col. 1.

[3] Καὶ τοῦτο γὰρ οἶμαι προσήκει σκοπεῖν, ὅπως ἂν μὴ τῇ ἀμετρίᾳ τῆς ἐγκρατείας τὴν δύναμιν τοῦς σώματος καταλύσαντες ἀργὸν αὐτὸ καὶ ἄπρακτον πρὸς τὰ σπουδαῖα τῶν πράξεων ἀποφήνωμεν.

Basil. op. Par. 1722. Constit. Monast. δ. tom. ii. p. 544.

[4] Ut carnalis appetitus melius compesceretur, etc., quare universa Ecclesia in hanc jejunii Ante-paschalis formam cito consentit.

D. Beverigius: de jej. quadrag. lib. iii. c. 9.

we ought least of all to fast in spring, but to eat more largely, and that flesh, and abstain from fish; from whence would be inferred, that those who are for a Spring Fast, are not only anti-christian, but anti-physician; and the note of remark there is, it became the man of Perdition, not only to destroy our Souls but our bodies also. I leave it undecided, whose skill is greatest in this matter, those physicians, or this Divine. St. Chrysostom in his sermon of Fasting saith, If we exactly search the matter, we shall find, that it is the mother of health, and of the good habit of the body, and saith he, if thou believest not my words, ask the Sons of the physicians about it;[1] and for the time of the year, St. Austin[2] asketh, in what part of the year more congruously can the observation of Lent be observed? And the ancient Therapeutæ are memorable for their fasting in Spring, not only for the health of their souls, but their bodies. The rest let the Physician speak.

I only add, that the practice of the Church in reference to Ember and Rogation Weeks is very pious and useful, and attended with great moderation: for, the putting people in mind of the stated times of ordination, that by fasting and prayer, we may all beseech God for his benediction on all that are to be ordained to his Ministry, is without exception.

So the Rogation-week is not appointed to cherish any superstitious fear of prodigies, or inauspicious accidents approaching, but carefully to promote the designs of piety, justice, and charity, in a way far from superstition. For although some kinds of processions were put down: yet "perambulations" and "circuits of the parish"[3] are retained; and "at their return" they are required to "make their prayers," and "to give God thanks" for his "benefits;" and whereas in their other processions in time of Popery, they used to sing unto many of their Saints, "Ora pro nobis;"

[1] Παῖδας ἰατρῶν περὶ τούτου ἐρώτησον.

[2] In qua ergo parte anni congruentius observatio Quadragesimæ constitueretur?

Aug. op. Par. 1836. Ad Januar. ep. 119. (nunc. ep. 55) tom. ii. p. 207.

[3] Q. Eliz. Inj. 18, 19. (Bp. Sparrow's Coll. p. 68.)

v. Homilies for Rogation Week.

ever since the Injunctions of 1541, [1]the suffrages which were advised, were rather, "Spare us, good Lord," "Good Lord, deliver us."

Eccles. iii. 4. Since therefore the wise man saith, "There is a time to weep and a time to laugh;" since the Festivals and Fasts in

Can. 13. our church, are enjoined for such excellent ends, as "promoting the service of God and religious exercises;"[2] and moderated also with all respect to the conditions, necessities, and occasions of human nature and life, with all cautions against excesses in practice or opinion; it is heartily to be wished, that all sober and wise Christians would be more careful of their observance, that we may not lose all good order in this great corruption of the age, in which so many inconsiderate people are regardless of holy times; and the Romanists frequently object, that many Protestants are never satisfied, till their reformations end in a quite opposite extreme. It is heartily also to be wished, that those who in their judgments do well allow such appointments, were not so

Rom. xiv. 22. indifferent in their observance: "Happy is he that condemneth not himself in the thing which he alloweth:" and what God said unto Moses and Aaron, ought to be imprinted on all our minds, because the reason of the command

[Lev. xxii. 2.] abides: "Speak unto Aaron and his sons, that they profane not my holy Name, in those things which they hallow unto me: I am the Lord."

But as for those who will not fast nor feast with us, if I

Luke vii. 31. may use the words of our Saviour, "Whereunto shall I liken the men of this generation? they are like unto children sitting in the market place." For as when John the Baptist (according to the infinite wisdom of God so ordering it) appeared in all mortification and self-denial, as was most fit to prepare the way of the Lord; humble in his habit and behaviour, very abstemious and sparing in his diet and course of life; that he might bring off the Jews from expecting a pompous Messias, which they, newly oppressed by the tyranny

[1] Better it were to omit "Ora pro nobis," and to sing the other suffrages. v. Collec. of Records, Burnet's Reform. Lond. 1681. lib. iii. p. 181.

[2] Q. Eliz. Injunct. § 20. (Bp. Sparrow's Coll. p. 69.)

of the Roman power, were hugely inclined to promise themselves: and after him our blessed Lord came more sociable and public in his conversation, to recommend his doctrine and example more advantageously unto all: yet the men of that generation, the Scribes and Pharisees on one hand, and the gentile Philosophers on the other, would neither conform themselves, nor comply with either dispensation; refusing to enter into the Temple by the gate of the Bridegroom, or by the gate of the Mourners; and instead of piping or dancing with their fellows, as each reason of the time required; they rather filled the market place with loud complaints, or with their own disorders: and instead of accepting of the greatest wisdom, in accommodation to themselves; they highly censured, one while John the Baptist for his mortification (as v. 33); another while our blessed Lord for his freedom (v. 34); wherefore our Saviour compares them to children, peevish children, tossing to and fro, and never well, full nor fasting. So, of the same restless and unsatisfied humour are the common exceptors against the appointments of our church. One while, if we observe the rules of the Church, in our abstinence and retirements, and imitate John Baptist's severity, thereby to prepare the way of the Lord: at other seasons, if we imitate our blessed Saviour in his blameless liberty, (albeit with such moderation and religion as the Church requires:) yet both the Church for enjoining, and her sons for observing, those injunctions, cannot escape the dint of their keenest censures. "But wisdom is justified of her children." [Matth. xi. 19.]

CHAPTER X.

OF THE MODERATION OF THE CHURCH IN REFERENCE TO THE HOLY SACRAMENTS.

The Moderation of our Church raiseth no strife about words relating thereunto.

1. OUR Church, according to that moderation in which she excels, raiseth no needless strife or controversy about words or names[1] particularly relating to the Holy Sacraments. "The name of Sacraments," saith the Homily,[2] "may in general acception be attributed to any thing whereby a holy thing is signified:" thus, as Chillingworth[3] noteth, "we use the names of Priest and Altar, and yet believe neither the corporal presence, nor any proper propitiatory Sacrifice:" yea, so exceeding moderate and prudent was the Church, that in the seventh Canon, 1640,[4] it abundantly cautions, lest those words be used otherwise than in a metaphorical and improper attribution.[5] Notwithstanding all these just and careful explications, why should our church for the use of those words, be traduced as relishing of Popery, any more than for favouring the Sabbatarian doctrine, because in the seventieth Canon in English, the word "Sabbath" Day is used for the Lord's day (and "dies dominicus" it is in the Latin Canons): in the Homily also

[1] Sæpe autem Eccl. Ang. professa est, de verbo nullam se litem moturam, si modo impetrari a vobis posset, ut pristina fide in integrum restituta, quæ contra usum veteris Ecclesiæ a vobis usurpantur, tollerentur.

Rex Jac. ad C. Perr. p. 52.

[2] Hom. of Com. Pr. and Sacram.

[3] Chillingw. Pref. § 24. Lond. 1704.

[4] [And we declare that this situation of the holy table, doth not imply that it is, or ought to be esteemed a true and proper altar, whereon Christ is again really sacrificed: but it is and may be called an altar by us in that sense in which the primitive church called it an altar, and in no other.]

Dr. Cardwell's "Synodalia." vol. i. p. 405.

[5] In Liturgia Anglicana habemus quidem Sacrificii nomen, offerendi verbum, etiam hostiæ mentionem, sed nihil magis adversatur Missatico sacrificio quam tota hæc oratio. Rivet. Gro. discuss. διαλ. p. 220.

"of the time and place of Prayer,"[1] 'tis called "Sabbath day,"[2] that is, the "Sunday," the Holy "day of rest:" and in King Henry VIII. Act of abrogation of certain days, it is said, "since the sabbath day was ordained for man's rest:"[3] and in Queen Elizabeth's Injunctions,[4] the same word is (as in the rest) used in a general accommodation to the improper use of the vulgar: which clauses mentioned are known to have been before this word (among some others) hath been set apart as one of the shibboleths of a party: whereas, rather the moderation of the Church should be taken notice of, which insists not so much on the nicety of the word, as on the integrity of its sense.

Her moderation in what is asserted of the number of Sacraments.

Our Church receives none as proper Sacraments "generally necessary to salvation" but such as are so: which said expression contains a great deal of Moderation, (notwithstanding it hath been much cavilled at by some of rigid principles,) for our Church doth nowhere assert the receiving so much as the true Sacraments to be always to every one particularly and absolutely necessary to salvation. Our Church, saith Bishop Bramhall,[5] receives not "the septenary number of Sacraments," being "never so much as mentioned in any Scripture, or Council, or Creed, or Father, or ancient Author, first devised by Peter Lombard; first decreed by Eugenius the 4th: first confirmed in the provincial Council of Senes, and after in the Council of Trent. [Either] the word 'Sacrament' is taken largely, and then [the] washing the disciples' feet is called a sacrament, then the [only] sprinkling of ashes on a Christian's head is called a sacrament; then there are God knows how many Sacraments more than Seven; Or else it is taken [strictly] for a visible sign instituted by Christ, to convey" and "confirm" invisible "grace,

1439. 1528. 1547.

[1] Hom. Pt. i.

[2] "And henceforth upon every Sabbath Day," &c.
Dr. Cardwell's "Synodalia." vol. i. p. 286.
"Singulis vero imposterum diebus dominicis," &c. ib. p. 204.

[3] ["Man's *use*"] Of abrogate holy dayes in K. Hen. VIII.'s time.
Sparrow. p. 225. Lond. 1661.

[4] Vid. Sparrow's Collect.

[5] To M. Militiere, p. 36. Works. Dubl. 1676.

to all such partakers thereof, as do not set a bar against themselves, according to the analogy between the sign and the thing signified. And in this sense, the proper and" the "certain sacraments of the Christian Church, common to all, or in the words of" the "Church, 'generally necessary to salvation,' are but two, Baptism and the Supper of the Lord. More than these St. Ambrose writes not of in his book 'de Sacramentis,' because he did not know them." And here it may not be improper to add those memorable words of St. Austin,[1] which were recited in the Articles of Religion, 1552,[2] published by King Edward VI. and are cited also in our Homily of Sacraments: "our Lord Jesus Christ hath knit together a company of new people, that is, Christians, with sacraments most few in number, most easy to be kept, most excellent in signification, as are Baptism and the Lord's Supper:" beside which two sacraments of the New Testament, our Church appointeth no other way of solemn engagement to Christianity.

In that her Orders for the Administration of the Sacraments are most suitable to the ends of their appointments.

The Holy Sacraments among us are administered in such order prescribed as is suitable to the end of their appointment; our Church most strictly holding to what is of divine institution, and adding nothing which is human to the Sacraments themselves: nevertheless, the Prayers, and Blessings, and Exhortations, and what is enjoined, promote the true design of the administration: in which the Moderation of our church holds a just mean between those who deny the Church any use of its Christian liberty, and between the intolerable excesses of the church of Rome: yet so very moderate is our church in this particular, that the Lutheran churches cannot compare themselves with her for moderation: for they retain Exorcism and other ceremonies in use with

[1] Primo itaque tenere te volo, quod est hujus disputationis caput, Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum, sicut ipse in Evangelio loquitur, leni jugo suo nos subdidisse et sarcinæ levi: unde Sacramentis numero paucissimis observatione facillimis, significatione præstantissimis, societatem novi populi colligavit, sicuti est baptismus Trinitatis nomine consecratus, communicatio corporis et sanguinis ipsius, et si quid aliud in Scripturis canonicis commendatur, exceptis iis quæ servitutem populi Veteris pro congruentia cordis illorum et Prophetici temporis onerabant, quæ et in quinque libris Moysi leguntur.

August. op. Par. 1679. tom. i. Ep. ad Januar. liv.

[2] Artic. Lat. xxvi. vid. Cardwell's "Synodalia." vol. i. p. 12.

their Sacraments; beside their peculiar doctrines and usages referring to the Holy Supper.

In that our Church doth not make the benefit of the Sacraments to depend upon unrequired conditions.

Our church doth not make the efficacy of the Sacraments to depend upon the bare administration, whether the mind be well prepared or no: I dare not say that most Romanists generally mean so by the Opus Operatum in the Council of Trent;[1] but the explanations of several come to no less.

In our church, although the due qualification of the receiver be required, and the authority of him who administers; yet the effect of the sacraments is not made to rely upon the present intention[2] of the Minister, or his own inherent worthiness: "the Sacraments being effectual by virtue of Christ's institution and promise, though they are ministered by evil men.[3]

In reference to Holy Baptism. Our Church doth make nothing of the essence of Baptism, but the use of the invariable form.

More particularly in reference to the sacrament of Holy Baptism. 1. The moderation of our church judgeth nothing to be of the essence of that sacrament, but the invariable form of Baptism; neither the sign of the Cross, (Canon 30,) nor any words, prayers, or usages; nor the intention of the Minister: neither is the consecration of water used in our church as of necessity, but in reverence to the Sacrament.

The Moderation of our Church towards Infants unbaptized. Her sound and charitable judgment of such as die after Baptism.

2. Such is the Moderation of our Church, it doth not censure, nor pass any judgment on the condition of Infants who die unbaptized; however their condition be worse: so in our Subscription for University Preachers at Cambridge,[4] we testify that we will not enter into judgment of such as die without Baptism, when it cannot conveniently be used: for according to the good pleasure of God, his extraordinary help is often found, when the help of man doth fail: and the

[1] [Si quis dixerit, per ipsa novæ legis sacramenta ex opere operato non conferri gratiam, sed solam fidem divinæ promissionis ad gratiam consequendam sufficere, anathema sit.] Concil. Trid. Sess. vii. Can. 8. Labbe, tom. xiv. col. 777.

[2] [Si quis dixerit in ministris, dum sacramenta conficiunt et conferunt, non requiri intentionem saltem faciendi quod facit ecclesia, anathema sit.] Concil. Trid. Sess. vii. Can. 11.

[3] Artic. of Rel. xxvi.

[4] [I do also judge the Baptism of infants necessary in the Church of God, although I will not enter into judgment with such as die without it, when it cannot conveniently be had; and, as for private baptism being lawfully ministered by a lawful minister in time and place, when public baptism cannot be procured, I cannot but well like of it.] Subscr. for Univ. Preachers at Camb.

great danger justly supposed by us, is upon the contempt of God's ordinance, and holy institution: but when the failure is of unavoidable necessity, our church charitably teacheth us to refer such to the sure mercies of God:[1] which makes more strongly against the Romish "Limbus Infantum." But of infants who are baptized, and die before the commission of actual sin, our Church doth pass a judgment of Charity for the comfort of Christian parents, and for the due honour of the divine Sacraments, which is this: [2]"It is certain by God's word that children which are baptized before they commit actual sin are undoubtedly saved." 3. Our Church according to great moderation and care doth caution that dipping or immersion, be very discreetly and warily performed: and because of the clime, our Church doth admit of pouring or sprinkling water upon the child (see the Rubric immediately before Baptism). And although public baptism be expressly required where it can be had, yet in case of necessity, our Church doth moderately admit of private Baptism,[3] in any decent place and time;[4] for which there is a special Office: requiring nevertheless, that people be admonished, that it is not to be done but upon great cause and necessity compelling; and that it is expedient that the child be brought to the Church: whereas the Directory did forbid very uncharitably all private baptisms. "Nor can I

In some necessary cautions referring to the administration of Baptism.

[1] [How much better were it to commit it to the secret and extraordinary mercy of God, who hath not bound his power to the Sacraments, as all Divines do agree. What reason can be given, why necessity should dispense with the want of actual baptism, and yet the same necessity should not dispense with the want of an actual desire of Baptism? especially seeing the want of desire in infants, proceeds from an absolute and antecedent necessity; but the want of the Sacrament in persons of years might have been prevented, and is become invincibly necessary by their own fault, which deserves the less consideration.]

Bp. Bramhall's Disc. of dying without Bapt. p. 980.

[2] Artic. of Rel. xxvii.

Rubric after Bapt.

Ch. Cat.

Hom. of Salv. Pt. i.

Libertas Ecclesiastica, lib. i. ch. v. § 3, 4, 5. Lond. 1677. by William Faulkner.

[3] Canon. 69. 1603. Cardwell's 'Synodalia.' Vol. i. p. 285.

[4] Sedulo hic provisum est legibus ecclesiasticis ut quovis tempore et loco baptizandi infantes suos parentibus esset facultas.

Rex Jacob. ad Card. Perr. p. 33.

see (saith Bishop Sparrow[1]) what can be reasonably objected against this tender and motherly love of the Church to her children, who chooseth rather to omit solemnities than hazard souls. Which indulgence of her cannot be interpreted any irreverence or contempt of that venerable Sacrament, but a yielding to a just necessity, [(which defends what it constrains) and to God's own rule, 'I will have mercy and not sacrifice.' "] S.Matt.xii.7.

Yea, such is the moderation of our church, as she hath made sundry alterations in accommodation to the time, so she hath, when occasion required, made some additions in its offices: particularly, because of "the growth of Anabaptism, through the" prevailing "licentiousness of the times," our church[2] hath compiled a peculiar office for baptizing "such as are of riper years," which is also "useful for the baptizing of Natives in our Plantations, and others converted to the Faith." Wherein the care of the Church is also to be noted in requiring Sponsors, whom the Office calls "their chosen Witnesses, who are to call upon the persons baptized, to use all diligence to be rightly instructed," &c., so that no burden lyeth upon the Sureties, but what may be reasonably complied with: neither is the use of Sureties, nor their promise in the name of the persons baptized, made by our church any necessary condition of baptism. 4. In our Church, those who are not secular persons, are not forbid to be God-fathers, as in the Church of Rome;[3] nor are any susceptors supposed to contract any affinity, as that such an undertaking should hinder marriage between the Sponsors and the persons baptized, if otherwise it be lawful. 5. Although in our first Rubrics, in case of necessity, great liberty was allowed for baptizing, when a minister could not be at hand: yet the said Permission, Dr. Abbot in his "Prelections," 1598,[4]

Referring also to the susceptors.

In what is required of them who administer that Sacrament.

[1] Rationale on the Bk. of Comm. Pray. p. 302. Lond. 1661.

[2] v. "Pref." to the Liturgy and the "Office of Baptism," &c.

[3] [Admonendi sunt susceptores de spirituali cognatione quam contraxerunt cum baptizato, baptizatique patre et matre, quæ cognatio impedit matrimonium ac dirimit.] Rituale Romanum. Antuerp. 1617. p. 21.

[4] [Qua in re fidem mihi faciunt multa, in nostra ecclesia, ab illo tempore facta, quibus homini prudenti appareat, Rectores venerandos, eam voluisse opinionem paulatim, et pedetentim, ab hominum animis, amotam et evulsam.]

Georg. Abbatis. Prælect. Oxon. 1598. De Baptismo. cap. ii. p. 98.

v. Abp. Whitgift, c. T. C. tract. ix. c. iii. Lond. 1574.

assures us, was only in accommodation to the time; and that the Governors of the Church did design, from the first, the reformation thereof by little and little: which right administration of this Sacrament is at length vindicated to the Ministers of God's Church: without that wondrous number of ceremonies (in exorcism, exsufflation, use of salt, spittle, inunction, &c.) in the church of Rome required: unless in danger of dying, and then the church of Rome allows any woman, or lay person, or heathen, or heretic, to baptize the Infant (in some cases before it be born);[1] from all which instances may be observed the just moderation of our church between the extreme sects of the Papists and the Anabaptists.

In reference to the holy Sacrament of the Eucharist, the moderation of the church appears, in that the same is reverently celebrated in both kinds; both according to the ancient practice of the Church for thirteen hundred years, and according to the express command of our Lord to his disciples, Matt. xxvi. 27, "Drink ye all of this Cup," &c.,[2] although (with a proviso to the contrary notwithstanding[3]) the church of Rome remands the cup from the laity. Now for a specimen and admirable sample of the moderation of the Roman church; at the instance of some Princes for the concession of the Cup, the Council of Trent sets forth a test, which is called the conditions on which the use of the Cup is granted,[4] namely, "that such as would communicate

[1] Nemo in utero matris clausus baptizari debet. Sed si infans caput emiserit, et periculum mortis immineat, baptizetur in capite; nec postea si vivus evaserit, erit iterum baptizandus. Rit. Roman. p. 7.

[2] 1 Cor. x. 16, 17. vid. Vulg. Transl.

[3] Licet Christus post cœnam instituerit et suis discipulis administraverit sub utraque specie panis et vini hoc venerabile sacramentum, tamen hoc non obstante, sacrorum canonum auctoritas laudabilis, &c.

Concil. Constantiens. Sess. xiii. Labbe Conc. tom. xii. col. 100.

[4] v. Conc. Trid. Sess. xxi. cap. ii. col. 846. tom. xiv.

[Ut sub utraque specie communicare volentes in reliquis omnibus, tam quoad Sacramentum hoc quam cætera Sacramenta, item in quacunque materia, quoad fidem doctrinam ritumque, conveniant corde et oris confessione, cum in iis omnibus quæ a S. Romana Ecclesia sunt recepta: necnon Decreta omnia hujus S. Synodi tam promulgata quam promulganda, religiose admittant et observent.]

Chemnit. Exam. Conc. Trid. Genev. 1634. De concess. cal. cap. iii. p. 332.

in both kinds, do in all other matters, referring to that Sacrament, and all the other five Sacraments, also in everything referring to faith, and doctrine, and rites, agree in heart and confession of mouth with all things received in the Roman church, and all the decrees of that Council made or to be made: exhibiting all duty to the Pope as the universal Bishop of the Church," &c.: such gainful and advantageous bargains will they be sure to make for themselves, and the keeping up their usurpations, before they will allow any concession, or mitigate any extreme rigour, in their most unwarrantable practices, or they will not fail to annex such conditions as shall render their concessions ineffectual.

The doctrine of Transubstantiation is rejected by our Church: not running to the other extreme of denying a real presence of Christ in the Sacrament.

2. The Doctrine of Transubstantiation, which the church of Rome receives as an article of Faith, absolutely and simply necessary to salvation, and propounds it to be received by all under a terrible anathema,[1] is by our church plainly denied, as contrary both to holy Scriptures, and all testimonies of venerable antiquity; and as a doctrine liable to grievous consequences:[2] which judgment of our church may appear to them that peruse our Articles (28, 29), Order of Communion, Rubrics, Homilies, several statutes of the Land; particularly the late Statute, wherein is provided, that all that are in office do declare, "that they do believe, that there is not any Transubstantiation in the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, or in the Elements of Bread and Wine; at or after the Consecration thereof by any person whatsoever:" yet such is the accurate moderation of the Church of England, in avoiding one error it runs not into other extremes; for, in the Office of the Holy Communion, in the Church Catechism,

[1] [Si quis dixerit in sacrosancto eucharistiæ Sacramento remanere substantiam panis et vini una cum corpore et sanguine Domini nostri Jesu Christi, negaveritque mirabilem illam et singularem conversionem totius substantiæ panis in corpus, et totius substantiæ vini in sanguinem, manentibus duntaxat speciebus panis et vini, quam quidem conversionem catholica ecclesia aptissime transubstantiationem appellat, anathema sit.] Concil. Trid. Sess. xiii. Can. 2.

[2] [Dogma cunctis Scripturæ sacræ et venerandæ antiquitatis præsidiis destitutum.....tetris consequentiis obnoxium.]
Jo. [Cosin] Episc. Dunelmens. Hist. Transubst. Lond. 1675. p. 164.

in the Apology for the Church of England, is asserted, the real presence[1] of Christ in the Sacrament, according to Scripture, and the judgment[2] of the Church of God: but the particular mode and manner thereof (any otherwise than that it is spiritual, mystical, and sacramental), the Church of England, according to the same rule and practice of the Catholic Church, doth not too curiously pry into or search. (see Ch. v. § 6.)

The Moderation of our Church in complying with the necessity of the Age: but not with the Church of Rome and others, who require their people to communicate not so much as thrice a year.

3. As the Church of England doth earnestly and passionately invite, and expostulate with those of her communion to frequent the Holy Sacrament: as in the exhortations before the Holy Communion; in the conclusion of the Homily "of the place and time of Prayer": and in Queen Elizabeth's Articles for Doctrine and Preaching, all Ministers are required to excite the people to often and devout receiving the Holy Communion;[3] and in Colleges and Collegiate Churches, the Holy Communion is required to be administered every Sunday, unless there be reasonable cause to the contrary;[4] and on the first or second Sunday of every month, so also the church of England doth lay its general command, according to great moderation, in requiring every one thrice

[1] [And this is that real and substantial presence which we affirmed to be in the inward part of this sacred action.]
Abp. Usher's Serm. 18 Feb. 1620. p. 16. Lond. 1631.

[2] Patres vero quoties nos dehortentur a quæstione τοῦ τρόπου, et curiositate modi explicandi in divinis mysteriis, si aggrediar hic adnotare, longum fecero.... Hac pia moderatione si Rex et Ecclesia Anglicana in sacrosancto eucharistiæ mysterio utuntur, quæ, obsecro, invidia est?
Rex Jacob. ad Card. Perr. p. 49.

[3] [Admonebunt populum, ut frequentius accedant ad sacram communionem, utque jam antea tota mente (uti par est) sese præparent.]
Liber quorund. Canon 1571. Dr. Cardwell's "Synodalia." vol. i. p. 121.

Jam vero singulis mensibus cœnam celebrari maxime nobis placeret: modo ne usus frequentior negligentiam pariat. Calvin. Epist. 361. Lausann. 1576.

[4] v. Rubr. 4. after Holy Comm.
Canon 23.
v. Rubr. 8. after Holy Comm.
Canon 21. 1603.
Rubr. 8. after Holy Comm.

at least every year to communicate;[1] well tempering her injunction, in accommodation to the necessity of the age, between the earnest practice of devotion which was in the Primitive Church,[2] when they commonly communicated at least every Lord's Day and Festival: and between the remissness of the Church of Rome,[3] which expressly requires all of her communion, to celebrate but once every year;[4] and the followers of the "Directory," who for many years together lamentably neglected the administration and participation of the Eucharist,[5] as (beside our own memory) Mr. Prin often testifies: and the history of the times soon after the Reformation, tell us of some who from adoring the elements fell to contemn them, wherefore there issued out a Proclamation[6] concerning the irreverent talking of the Sacrament."

Participation of the Holy Supper required after Confirmation,

4. As our Church offers the holy Eucharist only to those who have given due testimony of their knowledge and Christian belief, in having been confirmed by the Bishop;[7]

[1] Sæculares, qui natale Domini, pascha, et pentecosten non communicaverint, catholici non credantur, nec inter catholicos habeantur.
Concil. Agathens. Can. 18. (Labbe) tom. iv. col. 1306.

[2] In actis apostolorum quando Domini nostri adhuc calebat cruor, et fervebat recens in credentibus fides, vendebant omnes possessiones suas, &c.
Hieron. ad Demetr. Ep. viii. Basil. 1537.

[3] Cum nihil habeat Christiana religio sacramento eucharistiæ præstantius et augustius, nihilque ad sancte et inculpate vivendum efficacius ejusdem frequentissima participatione, dolemus tantam esse Christianorum hujus temporis incuriam ut semel tantum in anno sumant tam salutaris sacramenti subsidia.
Conc. Rhemens. 1583. De Eucharist. tom. xv. col. 892.

[4] In Pentecoste rarior est Communio; et ideo etiam fortasse Concilium Tridentinum hoc tempore nuptias solennes fieri permissit.
C. Bellarm. de Matrim. Sacram. lib. i. cap. xxxi. tom. iii. Col. Agr. 1619.

[5] v. Cœna quasi Κοινή. [by Wm. Morice.] Lond. 1657.

"De neglecta a Presbyterianis sacræ Eucharistiæ celebratione."
v. Eccl. Angl. Vindic. J. Durell. cap. iii. Lond. 1669.

[6] [Set forth 1° Edv. 6ti. Dec. 27.]
Fuller's Eccl. Hist. Bk. vii. p. 387. Lond. 1655.

[7] v. Rubr. after Confirm.
Injunctions of King Edw. VI. (Sparrow, p. 4.)

but not after the rigid examinations of some, or the auricular confessions of others: neither is it made a private banquet.

so it requires that none be admitted Godfathers or Godmothers, at Christening or Confirmation, but such as have received the holy Communion.[1] Yet because St. Paul remits every particular Christian to a self-examination, without any order, either to Minister or Lay-Elder, to exclude any from the holy Communion, upon their examination; therefore the moderation of our Church is such, it doth not depress adult Christians below the order of persons first to be catechized, requiring them to such rigid examinations as have been sometime used (like the auricular Confessions of the Romanists): among which examiners of the adult professors, the being of a party hath been too often the note of preparation for their church-communion: neither doth our most moderate Church judge any uncapable of the Sacraments, whom she judgeth not unworthy of her communion:[2] "We must take heed," saith the Homily, "lest, of the memory, it be made a sacrifice: lest, of a communion, it be made a private eating." Wherefore as the redemption of our Lord is offered to all that do not wilfully reject so great grace, so is the holy Communion in our church, to all that are not unfit to receive it: and, such as are, the Church is not wanting to admonish and forewarn;[3] and takes all due care to provide against their intrusion, (as the general corruption of mankind now doth admit,) according to the Rubric and Canon,[4] concerning "Notorious Offenders:" on which Bishop Andrews his note was, "Our Law will not suffer the Minister to judge any man a notorious offender, but him who is so convinced by some legal sentence."[5]

In our Church there is not to be a Communication

5. Our Church of England doth not admit any private Masses,[6] which in the Church of Rome are multiplied, without

[1] Canon 29.

[2] Homily of the Sacrament. Pt. i.

[3] vid. Exhortat. and Admon. before the Holy Comm.

[4] Canon 26.

[5] [Nicholls on the Comm. Prayer. Lond. 1710. Additional notes. p. 36. col. 1.]

[6] [Si quis dixerit, Missas, in quibus solus sacerdos sacramento aliter communicat, illicitas esse, ideoque abrogandas, anathema sit.]
Concil. Trid. Sess. xxii. Can. 8. (Labbe.)
xxxi. Art. of Relig.
Hom. of Sacr.

communicants, out of which they suck no small advantage;[1] whereas our Church in great moderation appoints the Sacraments to be freely administered, without any charge for their ministration, and also at every celebration there is required "a convenient number of Communicants,"[2] as in the "Communion for the sick,"[3] there are always to be three or two at the least; except in case of contagion.[4] And in case that those who sincerely desire to communicate are lawfully hindered; the moderation and wisdom of our Church hath prescribed a most pious instruction for the sick person, such as may at once most exceedingly satisfy and comfort.[5]

of the Eucharist without Communicants: The Moderation of the Church in other Rubrics referring to the Holy Communion.

[1] Minuatur ingens turba quotidie missantium propter saginandum aqualiculum duntaxat. G. Wicelii Meth. Concord. cap. v. p. 16. Lond. 1625.

[2] 2nd Rubr. after Holy Comm.

[3] Rubr. before Comm. for sick.

Last Rubr. after Holy Comm. for the sick.

[4] 3rd Rubr. after Holy Comm. for the sick.

[5] Canon 71. 1603.

CHAPTER XI.

OF THE MODERATION OF THE CHURCH IN REFERENCE TO OTHER RITES AND USAGES.

The Moderation of the Church in its Judgment and use of Confirmation.

1. OUR Church in its judgment and use of Confirmation, holds a just moderation, between those who reject the use of it, and others who make it a proper [1]Sacrament; it being received as a holy and useful rite perpetually expedient, though not of necessity to [2]salvation: with which our church doth not join chrism or unction, as in Baptism also we use not oil, there being no mention of either in Scripture, or in primitive Antiquity for such purposes. Neither is the baptized person brought to Confirmation, till every such a one be of competent "years of understanding," solemnly to take upon him the obligation entered into in baptism;[3] which being duly performed, the Bishop doth impose his hands on every of them, with prayer and blessing: Which is the order

[1] Conc. Tri. Sess. 7. Can. 1. de Confir. tom. xiv. (Labbe) col. 776.

[2] [Item, we thynke it convenient that all bysshops and preachers shall instructe and teache the people commytted unto theyr spirituall charge, that although it be well done, that men do present theyr children unto the bysshop to receyve at his handes the sacrament of confyrmation, when they be of so tender age as commonly they be wonte to do, yet it is not to be thought that there is any such necessite of confyrmation of infantes, but that they beinge baptysed, and dyenge innocente before they be confyrmed, shall be assured to atteyne everlastynge lyfe and salvation by theffect of the sacrament of baptisme before receyved.] Instit. of a Christen man. Lond. (Berthelet.) 1537. p. 36.

[3] Hic mos olim fuit ut Christianorum liberi, postquam adoleverant, coram Episcopo sisterentur ut officium illud implerent quod ab iis exigebatur qui se ad Baptismum adulti offerebant.

Calvin. Instit. lib. iv. c. xix. § 4. Amstel. 1667.

Laudo: et restitutam in purum usum velim. ibid.

[Quum ad baptizandos infantes vel adultos; item quum ad imponendas talibus manus conveniebatur.]

Beza in N. T. in Heb. cap. vi. Genev. 1598.

of our church, for the honour and dignity of Episcopacy, according to primitive and ancient[1] practice: although such is the moderation of our Church, that its Presbyters are taken into some society with the Bishop, generally, in those ministeries. Neither is any in our Church to be admitted to the Holy Communion until such time as they are confirmed, or be "ready and desirous" to be confirmed:[2] so wisely moderate is our church to accept of a true preparation, and sincere desire of Confirmation, when in some cases it cannot be had, either through the lamentable neglect of those who ought to [3]perform it, or those who should desire it to be performed. It was a discipline of the Helvetians to forbid the banns of marriage to such as could not give a good account of their Catechism; which soon made all who had a mind to marriage, to be very diligent in learning their lessons by heart: and by a Canon of a [4]Council in France, none were to be admitted to the Eucharist or [5]Matrimony, but such who had been confirmed: the same, if well looked into, is indeed also a Canon also of our [6]English Church: "Espe-

[1] Quod nunc quoque apud nos geritur, ut qui in ecclesia baptizantur, præpositis ecclesiæ offerantur, et per nostram orationem ac manus impositionem Spiritum Sanctum consequantur et signaculo dominico consummentur.
Cypr. op. Par. 1726. Epist. lxxiii. ad Jubaianum. p. 132.

[2] Ad hæc ut professio baptizatorum infantium per susceptores facta, in puberibus una congregatis solemni ritu renovetur, &c.
Wicelii Meth. Concord. Eccles. Lond. 1625. c. iv. p. 14.
Canon. 60. and 61. 1603.

[3] Si in hoc Episcoporum negligentia peccatum est hactenus, negligentia damnetur, non id, quod per se bonum est.
Wicelii Meth. Concord. c. viii. p. 28.

[4] [Comminentur etiam neminem hoc sacramento non insignitum, se ad eucharistiam et matrimonium admissuros.]
Concil. Bituricens. De Confirm. Can. 7. tom. xv. col. 1088.

[5] Nec enim alia, ut videtur, adversus fœdissimam ignorantiam et ferinam quasi barbariem via restabat, nisi maritalis tori sitis in subsidium vocaretur.
Hammond. de Confirmat. tom. iv. cap. v. sect. vi. § 11. p. 876.
Lond. 1684.

[6] Imprimis vero admonebunt adolescentes et juvenes, non tantum mares, sed etiam fœminas, cautum esse legibus, ne quis illorum vel accedat ad sacram communionem, vel contrahat nuptias, vel infantem e sacro fonte suscipiat, nisi antea didicerit rudimenta religionis Christianæ et possit ad omnes partes Catechismi convenienter et dextre respondere.
Lib. quorund. Can. 1571. (Bp. Sparrow's Coll. p. 233.)

cially they shall warn young folks, not only men, but also women, that it is provided by the laws, that none of them may either receive the holy Communion, or be married, or undertake for a child in Baptism, except they before have learned the principles of Christian Religion, and can fitly and aptly answer to all the parts of the Catechism." Neither is this rite among us degenerated into a practice of mere gain and covetousness, as Spalatensis complained of the Church of [1]Rome; where Confirmation with Chrism is made such a sacrament as they think confers a greater grace than the true sacrament of [2]Baptism; but the moderation of the Church hath restored "the ancient primitive rite of Imposition of Hands, which for many hundred years hath been extruded from the Romish Confirmation by other superstitious [3]ceremonies.

Concerning Matrimony, allowing her Clergy to marry: affording opportunity of voluntary celibacy in our Universities, according to a commendable moderation.

2. The Moderation of the Church of England in what relates to Marriage, chiefly appears in that it esteems matrimony "honourable in [4]all;" and particular also in Priests and Ministers of the Church: and, to make vows of perpetual virginity, our church doth rightly judge there is no obligation. Our thirty-second Article thus declares; "Bishops, Priests, and Deacons are not commanded by God's law, either to vow the state of single life, or to abstain from marriage; therefore it is lawful also for them, as for all other Christian men to marry at their own discretion, as they shall judge the same to serve better to godliness." To the same purpose is the Injunction of Queen Elizabeth, 1559. In all which our church followeth the judgment and practice of the Apostles,[5]

[1] [Et jam illa quoque apud nostros ad lucrum et avaritiam est conversa.] Ant. de Dominis de Rep. Eccl. lib. v. c. xii. § 24. tom. ii. Lond. 1620.

[2] [Quod secundum Canonem attinet: Qualem et quantam virtutem suo chrismati, sine ullo mandato et promissione divina tribuant, et quanta sit injuria et contumelia Baptismi, illam virtutem Baptismi detrahere, et ad Chrisma, quod nullum omnino habet verbum Dei, transferre, hactenus multis ostensum est.] Chemnit. Exam. de Confirm. Pars ii. Genev. 1634. p. 259.

[3] Falkner's Libertas Eccles. lib. ii. c. iv. sect. iii. § 7.

[4] Dei Ordinationem nulla lex humana, nullum votum potest tollere. Conf. Aug.

[5] Ideoque [Christus] Apostolos non Virgines elegit nisi forte unicum Joannem, sed magna ex parte uxoratos. Spalatens. (Ant. de Dominis) lib. ii. c. x. § 2. tom. i. Lond. 1617.

who were most of them married men, as St. Ignatius[1] and St. Chrysostom[2] and other of the Ancients deliver: and also the Apostolical[3] Canons, and sundry general Councils of greatest authority; very many of the Roman communion also having largely confessed the same: though the contrary was introduced by the worst of Popes, (Hildebrand[4],) thereby to secure the worldly interest of the Roman see, as if, for the good of the Church, man could be wiser than God: wherefore nothing hath been more lamentably notorious than the horrid impurities and tumults[5] which the different imposition hath caused in sundry places, particularly in this realm, in and soon after the times of Anselm Archbishop of Canterbury. And to make the moderation of our Church the more confessed in this matter, it is manifest that what was anciently commendable in the monastic[6] life, may conveniently be practised, by such a voluntary and useful celibacy as may be enjoyed in either of our famous Universities in this kingdom.

Undue degrees of Marriages, and some particular times forbid, &c.

The degrees of forbidden marriages are determined by the ecclesiastical laws of England according to an excellent moderation, as appears from the Table[7] of Matthew Lord

[1] Ὡς Πέτρου καὶ Παύλου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἀποστόλων τῶν γάμοις προσομιλησάντων.
Ign. Ep. ad Philad. Genev. 1623.

[2] [τίνος ἕνεκεν καὶ τὸν τοιοῦτον εἰς μέσον παραγει; ἐπιστομίζει τους αἱρετικοὺς τοὺς τὸν γάμον διαβαλλοντας, δεικνύς ὅτι τὸ πρᾶγμα οὐκ ἔστιν ἐναγὲς, ἀλλ' οὕτω τίμιον ὡς μετ' αὐτου δύνασθαι καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν ἅγιον ἀναβάινειν θρόνον.]
Chrysost. in Tit. i. Hom. ii. Par. 1734. tom. xi. p. 738.

[3] Ἐπίσκοπος, ἢ πρεσβύτερος ἢ διάκονος τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γυναῖκα μὴ ἐκβαλλέτω προφάσει ἐυλαβείας.
Can. Apost. v. Concil. (Labbe) tom. i. vid. Zoran et Balsamon (Theod.) in Can. Ap. p. 235. Par. 1620.

[4] Hoc insuave jugum nostris imponere Christus
Noluit: istud onus quod adhuc quare plurima monstra
Fecit, ab audaci dicunt pietate repertum.
Mantuan. de sacris diebus, lib. i. tom. ii. Antv. 1576. p. 252.

[5] Quare nimis rigida et intempestiva hujus constitutionis exactione, gravissima et abominanda in Ecclesia scandala extitisse videmus.
Cassand. G. de cœlib. sacerd. op. Par. 1616. Artic. xxiii.

[6] S. Augustini tempore Monasteria erant libera Collegia: postea corrupta disciplina, ubique addita sunt vota cæteræque impiæ opiniones.
Conf. August.

[7] v. Articles of Q. Eliz. 1564. Sparrow, p. 174.
Lib. quorund. Canon. xcix. Constit. Eccles. ibid. p. 45.

Archbishop of Canterbury, 1563; confirmed by sundry Statutes and Acts of Parliament; and, by the ninety-ninth Canon, 1603, commanded to be set up in our churches: wherein the forbidden degrees are interpreted according to such just rules as are common to both sexes equally. The same effect, for making any degrees unlawful, is attributed to affinity as to consanguinity: because the husband and wife
Gen. ii. 24. are "one flesh." Neither is any degree forbid by our Canon, but what was forbid in the eighteenth and twentieth Chapters of Leviticus, by the law of God, either in express terms, or (which is all one) by divers necessary consequences, from likeness, parity, or majority of reason: the same was provided by that clause of the Statute, 32 Henry VIII., cap. 38, which is chiefly insisted on by way of exception, viz., "That no reservation or prohibition, God's law except, shall trouble or impeach any marriage without the Levitical degrees:" which plainly imports, that all marriages within the Levitical degrees, shall be troubled and [1]impeached, though there were no exception against them by any other law of God. Even within these degrees of incestuous marriages, the Bishop of Rome takes upon him to dispense, to the great enlargement of his authority and [2]revenue: and, to make way for his Dispensations, he remits where God hath confined, and binds up where God hath enlarged; making such spiritual cognations[3] to the hinderance of marriage, as have no foundation in holy Scripture or reason: as between the susceptors in Baptism and Confirmation, and the persons they answer for: not to aggravate the severity of the Canon in the Council of [4]Trent, towards the innocent person after divorce in case of [5]Adultery.

[1] Table of Incestuous Marriages. Printed 167⅞.

[2] v. Reformat. Leg. Eccl. "de gradibus in Matrim. prohib." c. iii. et c. vii. Lond. 1640.

[3] [Quod genus sunt, matrimoniorum tam innumera excogitata obstacula ex affinitatis, publicæ honestatis cognatione, spirituali, legalique, et consanguinitatis, tam multis gradibus originem trahentia.]

Centum gravamina German. nation. (Brown's Fascic. Lond. 1690. tom. i. p. 354. Grav. I.)

[4] Conc. Trid. Sess. xxiv. Can. 7. tom. xiv. col. 875 (Labbe).

[5] Neque n. usque adeo debet integra persona crimine alieno premi.

Ref. leg. eccl. de Adult. et Divort. c. v. Lond. 1640.

The prohibited Times of marriage are also with much liberty declared: and the Dispensations also from the general rule, are with great moderation allowed: there is also a particular Canon, whereby a moderation of those licenses is provided, and the celebration of matrimony is indulged, without the three days' publishing of [1]the banns.

Matrimony, though it be owned a rite, in which the civil societies of men are naturally interested; yet because it is for the supply of the Church, as well as for enlarging the civil polities of men, the solemnity of Marriage is only to be performed by the Ministers of God's Church[2] among us, both for the more venerable solemnity, and for the blessing of the Church, as hath been the constant practice of the Church, and of [3]Christian Kingdoms: and L'Estrange, in the "Alliance of Divine Offices,"[4] highly extols the "admirable piety and wisdom of our Church" in appointing the wife to be received from the hand of the Priest. "The Minister," saith the Rubric, "receiving the woman at her father's or friend's hand, shall cause," &c., which excellent mode he thinks proper to signify how "a good wife is from the Lord." "In all Reformed Churches," saith D. Durel,[5] "Matrimony is celebrated in the public congregation, and by the Minister.

In reference to Holy Orders.

The Moderation of the Church in her Consecrating Ministers.

3. In reference to Holy Orders, our church observes an excellent Moderation. Our church always maintains a separate visible Order of men, as not only comely and convenient, but necessary for the function of the ministry. "It is not lawful," saith the thirty-second Article, "for any man to take upon him the office of public preaching, or ministering the

[1] Can. 62, 63. 101. 1603. (Dr. Cardwell's "Synodalia.")

Has cautionis leges non improbamus. Nulla in posterum facultas vel indulgentia pro matrimonio absque trina Bannorum determinatione, &c.

Altare. Damasc. (Dav. Calderwood.) p. 65. Lugd. Bat. 1708.

[2] Nam cum ipsum conjugium velamine sacerdotali, et benedictione sanctificari oporteat; quomodo potest conjugium dici, ubi non est fidei concordia?

Ambros. op. Par. 1690. tom. ii. ep. xix. § 7. col. 844.

[3] Sponsus et sponsa cum benedicendi sunt a sacerdote parentibus suis vel paranymphis offerantur. Conc. Carthag. iv. c. xiii. col. 1201.

[4] Hamon L'Estrange, p. 294. Lond. 1659.

[5] J. Durell's Government in Reformed Churches. sect. i. § 57. Lond. 1662.

In taking care to have them be as they ought to be, both before and after Ordination, with good effect.

sacraments in the congregation, before he be lawfully called and sent to execute the same," &c. We must take notice of the excellent design of our church (which is in a high measure attained) to have such persons ordered and separated for that office, who are duly qualified for their learning, piety, and sound doctrine. The excellent design, and extraordinary care of the Church, appears in her wise and prudent Canons in that behalf, and the strict inquiries and admonitions of the Church, of which her Ordinals most particularly give an account. After their ordination also, of the exemplary behaviour of the Clergy our church hath taken all the care that may be: see we for instance that excellent Canon.[1] "No ecclesiastical person shall at any time, other than for their honest necessities resort to any taverns or ale-houses, neither shall they board or lodge in any such places. Furthermore, they shall not give themselves to any base or servile labour, or to drinking or riot, spending their time idly by day or by night, playing at dice, cards, or tables, or any other unlawful game; but at all times convenient they shall hear or read somewhat of [the] holy Scriptures, or shall occupy themselves with some other honest study or exercise, always doing the things which appertain to honesty, and endeavouring to profit the Church of God; having always in mind, that they ought to excel all others in purity of life, and should be examples to the people to live well and christianly, under pain of ecclesiastical censures to be inflicted with severity, according to the quality of their offences,"[2] whether it be to suspension, deprivation, deposition, or other greater censures, as is the demerit. To the same purpose have been sundry Articles, and Injunctions, and Laws of the land, and Rules of the Church[3] very express. At the ordination of Ministers, it is asked them, "whether they will be diligent to frame and fashion themselves and their families according to the doctrine of Christ, and to make both themselves and them, as much

[1] Canon 75.

[2] Prior exploratio est de excessibus et defectibus Ministrorum Verbi, &c. De Doctrina et Polit. Eccl. Anglic. c. vi. p. 322. Lond. 1617.

[3] v. Lib. quorund. Canon. vol. i. (Dr. Cardwell's "Synodalia.")
v. Articulos pro clero. Canon 33, 34, 35. 1603. (ibid.)
xxvi. Art. of Relig.

as in them lieth, wholesome examples and spectacles to the flock of Christ?" Lastly; all promotions of the Church are distributed so equally, that any son of a layman in the kingdom otherwise fitted, is capable of the highest eminence in the Church. In her Canons, restraint is made of plurality of Benefices,[1] (Canon 41,) with indulgence only in cases extraordinary; requiring[2] also convenient residence and hospitality, and every one's discharge of their functions: in case of lawful absence, that a just and conscientious supply be provided; always letting the people see, that they do not seek their own profit, promotion, or advantage, more than the profit of the souls they have under their cure, or the glory of God.

Of the effects of these orders if any inquire; beside the judgments of other churches, (that the Clergy may not be the only judges in this case,) such may consider what the great Verulam hath witnessed; that "scarce any Church since the primitive" times, hath "yielded, in like number of years, [and latitude of country,] a greater number of excellent preachers, famous writers, grave governors;" and the most and "chiefest" of them of "holy and good" life.[3] And the famous University of Oxford, in [the] answer to the Petition of the N. C. 1603. replied: "to stop" the mouths of those that "traduce us" for "a dumb [unlearned] idol-ministry," there are at this day more learned men in this [land, in this one] kingdom, than are to be found in all Europe: which must not be "imputed for vanity," since "the Apostle," when his ministry was reproached, defended his godly boasting. Which premised, Bishop Hall may be allowed to speak for the clergy of the Church of England; "What Christian church under heaven," saith he, "in so short a time, yielded so many glorious lights of the gospel, so many able and prevalent adversaries of Schism and Antichristianism; so many eminent authors of learned works, which shall out-bid time

[1] v. Articulos pro Clero. "De beneficiorum pluralitate," &c. ("Synodalia," vol. i. p. 196.)

[2] Bp. Sparrow's Collections [or, Dr. Cardwell's Synodalia.] K. Edw. VI. Injunction. 1547. p. 3. ibid.

[3] Ld. Bacon's Works, Lond. 1753. "Of the Pacification of the Church:" vol. ii. p. 389.

itself? Let Envy grind her teeth, and eat her heart; the memory of these worthy Prelates shall ever be sweet and blessed."

Yet if not so great as is desired, why the Church ought not to be accused.

If all this care of the Church hath not its absolute and entire effect, (which when it hath not, is much lamented,) according to the sincere desire and intent of the Church: as also that the laws of Christ have not that effect upon all Christians as they ought;[1] our Church in the meanwhile must be acquitted, while according to the condition of the things she hath used her best care and endeavour; and if the practices of men always cannot, her laws must bear her out.[2] Wherefore, very reasonable was the Injunction of Queen Elizabeth, that for defaults which people find in ecclesiastical persons, they are not to "detain their" dues, to "requite one wrong with another," but to "call for reformation thereof at their Ordinaries and other Superiors; who upon complaint, and due proof thereof, shall reform the same accordingly." Now, of thousands who are apt to complain of the clergy, how few take the right course to rectify any thing? if any are vicious among us, we protest against their practices, and are advocates for none in what is evil; but leave them to answer for themselves before proper judges: being sure it would be a happy world, if right principles in the understanding, and a conformable practice, could always go together: but it is an ordinary practice, "whose doctrine they cannot confute, their life endeavour to bring into hatred."[3] It may be added, according to an excellent moderation are also the Ages appointed of them who are to enter into holy Orders.[4]

§ 15, 1559.

[1] Nec hæc culpa est Christiani nominis, si simulator religionis in vitio sit. Hier. Ep. xcv. (olim iv.) ad Rusticum Monachum. tom. iv. col. 771. Par. 1706.

[2] Delictum personæ non debet in detrimentum Ecclesiæ redundare. De regulis juris. cap. 76. Decret. Gregor. IX. Par. 1687. p. 349. col. 2.

[3] Verum isti quum viderint doctrinam nostram non posse recte accusari, maluerunt in mores nostros invehere. (Juelli) Apol. Eccl. Angl. § 53.

[4] [And none shall be admitted a Deacon, except he bee xxi. yeres of age at the least. And every manne, whiche is to bee admitted a Priest shabee full xxiiii. yeres olde. And every manne which is to be consecrated a Bishoppe shabee fully thirtie yeres of age. Preface to the Ordinal. 1649.]

Artic. pro clero. Certæ conditiones inordinandis, &c.

Canon 34. (Cardwell's "Synodalia." vol. i.)

3. Our church maintains and preserves those Orders of Ministers in the Church (Bishops, Priests, Deacons)[1] which are truly primitive: without the additional train which the church of Rome makes necessary, even seven kinds of Orders suitable to their number of sacraments; and with much the like necessity, that the followers of the Geneva-government appoint their lay-elders.[2]

The power of Orders consisteth partly in preaching the Word, and other Offices of public worship, common to Bishops, with other Ministers; partly in ordaining Priests and Deacons, admitting them to particular cures, and other things of that nature proper to them alone. The power of Jurisdiction is either internal, in retaining and remitting sins; (in the Court of Conscience,) common to them also,—(for the substance of the authority, though with some difference in the degree,)—with other [3] Ministers: or external, for the outward government of the Church in some parts thereof peculiar to them alone. The government of the Church according to these Orders, in its own constitution, hath an excellent temper between an ecclesiastical monarchy which the church of Rome asserts in making itself the Mother and Mistress of other churches, and its Bishop supreme monarch over all the Bishops and Churches: and between such democracy and populacy as is held in the Independent and Presbyterian party.[4]

In our government by Bishops succeeding the Apostles, (which also was aristocratical, they having all a fulness of order and power among themselves,)[5] a succession of pastors

[1] xxxvi. Art. of Relig.

[2] Hoc male habet scilicet quosdam immoderatiores, reddi jurisdictionem, restitui πολιτείαν Ecclesiasticam, hoc interpretantur restitutionem dominationis Pontificiæ. Ph. Melancth. ad Camerar. Epist. Lips. 1569. pp. 147, 148.

[3] Episc. not prejud. to regal power.
Bp. Sanderson. Lond. 1678, p. 33, 34.

[4] Retinemus ex singulis regiminibus exquisitam temperaturam.
J. A. Comenius Moravus de ord. eccl. apud Bohemos.

[5] Ubicunque fuerit Episcopus, sive Romæ, sive Eugubii, sive Constantinopoli, sive Rhegii, sive Alexandriæ, sive Tanis, ejusdem meriti, ejusdem est et sacerdotii.
Hier. op. Par. 1706. ad Evangelum Epist. ci. tom. iv. col. 802.

our church doth not refuse, because derived for a time in the same channel with the Roman Bishops; after the same manner (saith Bishop Jewel) we are chosen, invested, confirmed, admitted: if they were deceived in any thing, we succeeded in their place, not in their error.

Of the real Moderation of our episcopacy, Monsieur Amyrald[1] may speak for us, because of many he may more readily be heard: "The Bishops of the Church of England, because they neither acknowledge the authority of the Roman Pontiff, nor do they assume to themselves any right or power over the consciences of men, nor over the truth of Christ, and in all things they most earnestly maintain the same doctrine with us against the errors of the Papists, Anabaptists, Socinians, and others; we think therefore in some things they are to be borne with, if there be any thing in that Order which doth not altogether suit to our humour."[2]

In retaining such Orders of Ministers in the Church as are primitive.

4. As our church doth not approve of the Roman tonsures, rasures, unctions, in the imitation of the Jews; so she hath cast out of its form of Ordination, all those superstitious rites used in the church of Rome. Neither hath any of her consecrations,[3] "any thing that is of itself superstitious, or ungodly."[4] Yet so moderate is our church toward the Church of Rome, that it allows it to have not only the essentials of a true Church, but of Ordination also. Although it hath only the ancient and apostolical rites of Imposition of hands and Prayer; and accepts of the form of Ordination used by our Lord as most suitable, and best; nevertheless it doth not hold all those Ordinations void, which have been

[1] Attamen quia neque Romani Pontificis autoritatem Episcopi Anglicani agnoscunt, neque sibi ipsi quidquam in conscientias hominum, et in Christi veritatem, juris ac potestatis arrogant, et in omnibus aliis rebus eandem nobiscum doctrinam adversus errores Pontificiorum, Anabaptistarum, Socinianorum, et aliorum, acerrime propugnant, si quid est in eo ordine quod nobis non omnino arrideat, tolerandum esse putamus. Amyraldi Irenic. Salmur. 1662. p. 191.

[2] Cavendum ne Scyllæ fuga, in hanc Charybdim incidamus. Neve rigor nimius, et plusquam Vatinianum in Episcopos odium, eo imprudentes adigat, ut veteri Ecclesiæ dicam scribamus, et ab ejus communione ipsi nos arceamus.
Sam. Bochart. Epist. ad Epis. Winton. [Morley]. Par. 1650. p. 12.

[3] Instit. of a Christ. Man. 1537.

[4] xxxvi. Artic. of Relig.

made in some other form of words. It imitates the moderation of the whole Catholic Church, in being against the rebaptizing of any, who have had the essentials of Baptism : and also against the re-ordination of those who keep the essentials of Ordination ; and of such Churches where Bishops cannot be had, we use all moderation of judgment.[1] Yet, where our Constitution requires ordination by Bishops, it is at liberty not to make use of their Ministry, who peremptorily refuse the ordination of our Bishops;[2] or who would in a settled Church and Kingdom, set up a church government in opposition to the Bishops who ordained them before.

The Moderate judgment of the Church concerningsuch as have been ordained in the Church of Rome, and elsewhere.

5. Our church doth endeavour to preserve to its Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, all due honour and regard suitable to their several ministries and order; having the right of a revenue, which is for the most part a convenient provision for its clergy : above some others of the Reformation ; Yet not only below the pompousness of the Roman church, but much inferior, in proportion, to the provision God made the Priests and Levites among the Jews. As our Church observes an excellent moderation in reference to things peculiarly devoted unto God, equally abhorring idols and sacrilege ; and whatsoever is sanctified to the peculiar service of God, our church orders should be used in a suitable manner; so in reference to persons consecrated to the holy service of God, a worthy care is taken by the very constitution of our government in Kingdom[3] and Church, to secure their office and persons from such contempt as might render their religious performances more useless and unprofitable to the Church; and might discourage the worthy industry of those, who should devote themselves

[1] Bp. Bramhall's Vindicat. p. 99. 101.

[2] Tunc M. Curius præfatus non opus esse eo cive reipublicæ qui parere nesciret, et bona ejus, et ipsum vendidit.

Valer. Maxim. Roterodam. 1671. lib. vi. cap. iii. § iv.

Hic vero de iis agitur qui spretis episcopis suis, et conculcata disciplina ecclesiastica ; cui subesse debebant, ab iis penes quos jus ordinandi non erat, ordinari voluerunt, non alia de causa quam ut animo suo obsequerentur, &c.

Eccl. Angl. Vindic. Joan. Durelli. cap. vi. p. 47. Lond. 1669.

[3] 1 R. Eliz. c. 2. § 18. 23. 8 R. Eliz. c. 1. § 2. (Statutes at large. vol. ii. Lond. 1763.)

entirely to a function so honourable in itself. King Edward the Sixth, and Queen Elizabeth, enjoined, that [1] "whereas many indiscreet persons do at this day uncharitably contemn and abuse Priests and Ministers of the Church; [because some of them having small learning, have of long time favoured fond fancies rather than God's truth;] yet for as much as their office and function is appointed of God, The" King's "Majesty willeth and chargeth all his loving Subjects, that [from henceforth] they [shall] use them charitably and reverently for their Office and "Administration" sake; [and] especially such as labour in [the] setting forth God's holy Word." And for the more remarkableness of the moderation of our entire constitution, may be considered what Dr. Heylin[2] makes out at large in his treatise for "undeceiving the people in point of Tithes," 1657. Never was any clergy maintained with less charge to the subject, than the established clergy of the Church of England; no man paying any thing of his own toward the maintenance of his parish Minister, but his Easter offering.

Our Church endeavours to preserve all due regard to whatever is consecrated to God.

6. Because our Church asserts to its Ministry all just effect, (see Art. xxxiii.) it makes the power of the keys not only declarative and doctrinal, but authoritative; of which more, in the next Section of this chapter. Yet our churchmen do not boast, as some of the church of Rome do often, of a power ascendant over the awful presence of God, and the glorified body of Christ in heaven, as if they made him corporally and immediately present in the Eucharist upon their secret pronouncing of "Hoc est enim Corpus meum."[3]

The Power of the Keys asserted in our Church with due moderation.

Neither doth our church of England ascribe to the power of Priests, the bringing spirits out of Purgatory in their Suffrages for the dead. Nor doth our church hold any true propitiatory Sacrifice for dead, or living, to be offered up in the Mass; because that would derogate from the sufficiency of Christ's Priesthood; neither doth it define its priesthood

[1] Q. Eliz. Injunct. 1559. pp. 75, 76.

[2] (By P. H. Treleine, i. e. Pet. Heylin.) Lond. 1648.

[3] Missale Romanum. Antuerp. 1627. cap. viii. § 5. (De canone missæ usque ad consecrationem.)

by the action only of such a sacrifice, as doth the Council of Trent.[1]

Of Penance.

The Moderation of our Church between those who slight our penance, and those who explain it extravagantly.

4. Our Church behaves it most moderately between the two extremes of those who slight all due penance, and of those who explain it differently from the true nature of it. The Council of Trent declares it of necessity, by Divine right, for every one of both sexes, once a year to confess to a Priest, (as his judge next to God,) all and singular their mortal sins which they can possibly recollect, even the most secret, with all their circumstances; or else they had as good do nothing, as the Council saith:[2] which Confession, with contrition and satisfaction, are with them, the matter of Penance; and the form is the word of Absolution from the Priest, which make up their entire Sacrament: whereas our Church doth suppose the nature of true penitence doth consist in true change of mind, and effectual amendment of life: which when it is sincere, there will be so much of the rest as is useful.[3] In the Convocation, 1536, at the first dawning of the Reformation, it was determined, that [this sacrament of] perfect penance which Christ "required [of such manner of persons] consisteth of three parts, [that is to say] contrition, confession," and "amendment of [the] former life, and a new obedient reconciliation to the laws

[1] [Si quis dixerit, non esse in novo Testamento sacerdotium visibile et externum; vel non esse potestatem aliquam consecrandi et offerendi verum corpus et sanguinem Domini, et peccata remittendi et retinendi, sed officium tantum et nudum ministerium prædicandi evangelium, vel eos qui non prædicant, prorsus non esse sacerdotes, anathema sit.]

Concil. Trid. de Sacram. Ordinis. can. 1. sess. xxiii.

[2] Qui vero secus faciunt et scienter aliquid retinent nihil divinæ bonitati per Sacerdotem remittendum proponunt.

Concil. Trid. de Confess. cap. v. sess. xiv.

[3] Anxietate circumstantiarum et tortura conscientiarum sublata &c.

G. Wicelii Method. Concord. c. vi.

Quæ in multis conscientiæ carnificinam gignit, quam nemo moderatus approbat. Cassander ad Artic. ii. Par. 1616. De Confess. p. 942.

Confessionem sacerdotalem supra, opinor, tractavimus. In ea moderationem aliquam Catholici quoque postulant, quæ est materia desperationis et odii.

G. Wicelii Via Regia. tom. ii. 1690. p. 725.

and will of God:"[1] The same is earnestly enforced in our Homilies.

Bishop Bramhall very compendiously enumerated the Romanists' abuses of confession, in "tricking it up in the robes of a sacrament; by obtruding a particular and plenary enumeration of all sins to man, as absolutely necessary to salvation, by Divine Institution; by making it, with their commutations, a remedy rather for the Confessor's purse than the Confitent's soul: [by imposing ludibrious penances:] as Chaucer observed, He knew how to impose an easy Penance, where he" could look "for a good pittance; by making it a picklock to know the secrets of States and Families:" "by absolving before they enjoin Ecclesiastical satisfaction; by reducing it to a customary Formality, as it were but the concluding [of] an old score to begin a new."[2]

The Confession of our Church which is required, is suitable to the design of Repentance.

Our Church doth declare the necessity of such a Confession as is useful to the purposes of true repentance: that is, when Confession to the Minister of God may be useful for spiritual advice, and for the quieting of any one's conscience in order to a good life, or happy death: and, particularly, in order to the fruitful receiving the holy Communion.[3] In King Edward VIth's time, in the "Order of the Communion," the Exhortation was thus: "And if there be any of you whose conscience is troubled and grieved at any time, lacking comfort or counsel, let him come to me, or to some other discreet and learned Priest taught in the law of God, and confess and open his sin and grief secretly, that he may receive such ghostly counsel, advice, and comfort, that his conscience may be relieved;[4] and that, of us, as a Minister of God and of the Church, he may receive comfort and absolution to the satisfaction of his mind, and avoiding of all scruple and doubtfulness: requiring such as shall be satisfied

[1] [Collier's Eccl. Hist. Lond. 1840. vol. iv. p. 355.]

[2] Sermon bef. the Parliament, p. 974. Works. Dubl. 1676.

[3] v. Exhortation to the Holy Comm.

[4] Itaque si quis ex illis qui se ad Domini mensam præparant in aliqua religionis parte vacillet aut conscientia sauciata sit, liberum aditum ad ministrum habeat et ab illo consolationem et levationem ægritudinis accipiat.
Reform. leg. eccl. de divinis Officiis, c. vii. Lond. 1640. p. 87.

with a general Confession, not to be offended with them that do use, to their further satisfying, the auricular and secret confession to the Priest; nor those also which think needful or convenient for the quietness of their own consciences, particularly to open their sins [to the priest, to be offended with them which are satisfied with their humble confession] unto God, and the general confession to the Church: but in all these things to follow and keep the rule of charity; and every man to be satisfied with his own conscience, not judging other men's minds or acts, whereas he hath no warrant of God's Word for the same;"[1] so much the spirit of Moderation did move in our Church, from the first of the Reformation, and was perfected in what after was ordered.[2] "If any" Men "do find themselves troubled" [in conscience], saith the Homily, "they may repair to" "some" "godly learned man," &c. "But it is against [the] true [Christian] liberty, that any man should be bound to the numbering of his sins, as has been used heretofore in the time of [blindness and] ignorance."

In the meanwhile, how slanderously are we reported by the Romanists, in the Recantation some of them made for Anton. de Dom. sect. 25, thus speaking of the men of the Church of England: "Amongst them scant ever saw I any Reformation: for the most part, all care of conscience is cast away: they are not (except some few) troubled with any scruples for adulteries, robberies, or deceiving their neighbours; for they have wickedly abolished auricular confession."

Indeed such auricular Confession as is in practice in the Roman Church,[3] the Church of England hath utterly rejected, it being devised to pry into the secrets of Governments, and such private circumstances of actions, which to

[1] Sparrow. Order, &c. p. 18, 19.

[2] Absit autem repetendi confessionem superstitio, absit anxietas enumerandi commissa et circumstantias, aut totam iterandi confessionem apud alium sacerdotem, si quod crimen in priore fugit.

Erasm. de amab. Eccl. concord. Lugd. Bat. 1704. tom. v.

Homily of Repent. Pt. ii.

[3] Scire volunt secreta domus atque inde timeri. Juv. Sat. iii. 113.

unveil is neither the interest of private persons, nor of priests. It is more "plain,"[1] saith our Homily, "that this auricular confession hath not its warrant of God's word, else it had not been lawful for Nectarius Bishop of Constantinople[2] upon [a] just occasion to have put it down." Yet the same Homily earnestly commends to us confession of our sins before God; and one to another, for reconciliation of offences: and to the Minister of God, for his ghostly counsel and absolution; and, publicly, in case of public scandal.

The Seal of Confession in our Church is as sacred as it ought to be.

Whereunto may be added for the honour of our Church's moderation, that it observes the Seal of Confession, as sacredly as reason or religion can possibly permit, yet forbids not the disclosure in case of murder or treason; but in those particulars, leaves us entire in our obedience to the common laws of the kingdom. Of which, see we what our Church delivers in its one hundred and thirteenth Canon: "If any man confess his secret and hidden sins to the minister, for the unburthening of his conscience, and to receive spiritual consolation, and ease of mind from him; we do "straightly charge and admonish" the said Minister, "that he do not at any time reveal and make known to any person whatsoever any crime or offence so committed to his trust and secrecy,[3] (except they be such crimes, as by the law of this realm, his own life may be called in question [for concealing the same,]) under pain of irregularity." For as H. Garnet (whom the Romanists will have a Martyr for their sacrament of Confession) confessed himself, "It is not fitting that the lives of Princes should depend upon the private nicety of any man's conscience."[4] And yet Suarius[5] determines, that "in no

[1] Homily of Repent. Pt. ii.

[2] Sozomen Eccl. Hist. lib. vii. c. xvi. Par. 1668.

[3] Cujus rigidam necessitatem quæ apud vos obtinet Eccl. Angl. molliendam sibi certo consilio putavit: rem certe quidem ipsam neque sustulit, ulla unquam lege, neque certo damnavit. Is. Casaub. ad Frontonem. p. 129. Lond. 1611.

[4] ["It is not fit the safety of a Prince should depend upon any other man's conscience."] v. Proceedings against the late Traytors. Lond. 1606.

[5] Secundo est certum, obligationem hujus præcepti tantam esse ut in nullo casu et propter nullum finem, etiam pro tuenda tota republica ab ingenti malo temporali aut spirituali, violare illud liceat.
Fr. Suarez. de pœn. disp. 33, § 1. tom. xix. Ven. 1748. p. 362.

case, for no end, though it was to save a whole commonwealth from a great evil, temporal or spiritual, may it be lawful to violate Confession." Ja. Binet[1] went higher: "It was better all Kings should perish, than even once the seal of Confession should be violated."

The Catholic Apologist goes higher yet:[2] "The Sacrament of Confession is of such reverence among us, that we cannot lawfully disclose a secret known by it, though it were to save Christianity itself." Nay, the "Apology for Garnet,"[3] hath a notable fetch to bring in all the gunpowder conspirators as Martyrs; for, saith he, "It is the common opinion of Catholics, that all who receive the matter from the Confessor (by the consent of the Penitent) are bound by religion of secrecy." But what abuse of Confession is this, to hold those Martyrs, who confessed a wickedness they were resolved to commit: and their Priests absolved them from a treason, they were then sworn to undertake.

The use of External Penance in our Church according to due Moderation.

The discipline of our Church doth by no means exclude the use of external Penance: and, in its judgment is more right than the Church of Rome. To enforce both inward and outward Penance, our Church hath a special Office of Commination upon solemn occasions to be used. And for some scandalous sins (when notorious) solemn Penance is by a special Canon required, for the humiliation and compunction of the sinner; for the example of others; and for the edification of the Church:[4] the Commutation of which for very good reasons requiring, the Church hath taken care

[1] [Nunquam dixissent pii Patres, quod mihi Lutetiæ dixit Binetus, ordinis vestri Theologus, in Bibliotheca Regis Christianissimi, altero tertiove mense post Henrici Magni cædem, cum de Garnetti supplicio (ipse martyrium vocabat) loqueretur: Præstaret Reges omnes perire, quam si vel semel Confessionis sigillum violaretur."] Is. Casaub. ad Frontonem. Epist. Lond. 1611. p. 140.

[2] [Catholique Apology: by a Person of Honour. Lond. 1674. p. 426.]

[3] Eadem autem arcani religione qua confessarius ipse, teneri omnes eos qui vel consentiente pœnitente, consilii causa a confessario rem acceperint, communis est Catholicorum sententia.

Eudæmonis Jo. Apol. pro Garnetto, p. 327. Col. Agr. 1610.

[4] ["De moderanda solennis Pœnitentiæ commutatione."]

Sparrow, p. 194, or, Cardwell's "Synodalia," vol. i. p. 142.

sometime to moderate: [1]but the Commutations allowed by our Church are sincerely designed for the ends of charity and religion, and the consideration of piety; but are not taxed in a penitentiary Table, as it were to invite men to sin. The godly discipline of the primitive Church, of open Penance for the conviction of notorious offenders, the Church of England wisheth may be restored again: but, "the satisfaction that God requires of us," saith the Homily of Repentance,[2] is "that we cease from evil, and do good; and if we have done any man wrong, to endeavour ourselves to make him true amends to the uttermost of our power, following in this the example of Zaccheus," &c. Nevertheless, the Penances in the Church of Rome, which there are called Satisfactions, and are counted deletory of sin, and meritorious of pardon, our Church doth account no otherwise than superstitious.

The use of Absolution in our Church maintained according to a just temper.

The Absolution of the Priest hath its due honour and use in our Church, although it be made no part of any sacrament of Penance. And that the Moderation of our church may be more perceived, observe, that our Church ascribeth not the power of remission of sin to any but to God only. It constantly holds, that Faith and true repentance, are the necessary conditions of receiving the benefit of remission of sin. It asserts, what is most true, that the Ministers of the Church have a special power and commission, which other believers have not, authoritatively to declare this absolution and remission of sin, for the benefit and consolation of true penitency; which if duly dispensed, cannot but have a real effect from the very promise of Christ.[3] (St. John. xx. 23.)

This Penitence our church makes not a new sacrament;

[1] Commutationem autem injunctæ pœnitentiæ, nec Cancellarius faciet nec Archidiaconus, nec Officialis, nec Commissarius. Ea potestas multis gravibus de causis Episcopo soli reservabitur, aut si quem alium Episcopus ad eum usum speciali mandato designabit. (Sparrow, p. 230, or "Synodalia," vol. i. p. 118.)

De Polit. Eccl. Angl. cap. vi. p. 328. Lond. 1617.

v. Office of Commination.

[2] Pt. ii.

[3] Τί τούτης ἴσον γένοιτ' ἂν τῆς τιμῆς; &c.

Chrysost. in "Vidi Dominum," Hom. Par. 1724. tom. vi. p. 132.

(as doth the church of Rome;) but a means of returning to the grace of God bestowed in Baptism: "They which in act or deed sin after Baptism (saith our Homily), when they turn to God unfeignedly, they are likewise washed by this sacrifice from their sins."[1]

The rare temper and proportion, which the Church of England useth in commensurating the Forms of Absolution to the degrees of preparation and necessity, is to be observed; that at the beginning of Morning and Evening Prayer, after a general Confession, the form of Absolution is in general declarative, and by way of proposition: in the Office of Communion, it is by way of Intercession: in the Visitation of the Sick, when it is supposed and enjoined that the Penitent shall disburthen himself of the clamorous loads on his conscience, the Church prescribes a medicinal Form by way of delegate authority. Therefore, saith the Bishop of Down, "It is the excellent temper of the church, so to prescribe her forms of absolution, as to shew them to be the results of the whole priestly office."[2] All which forms, in sense and virtue, are the same.[3]

For Visitation of the Sick. The worthy care of the Church therein, and some instances of its Moderation referring thereunto.

5. For Visitation of the Sick, such is the care of our church that by its Canon,[4] When any person is dangerously Sick in any Parish, the Minister or Curate, having knowledge thereof, shall resort unto him or her, (if the disease be not known, or probably suspected to be infectious,) to instruct and comfort them in their distress, according to the order of the Common Prayer Book[5] if he be no preacher; or if he be a preacher, then as he shall think most needful and convenient." And so in the Rubric[6] it is said, "the minister

[1] Non ut iterum baptizemur, sed ut ad illam gratiam, ex qua per peccata excideramus, per fidem in pœnitentia redeamus.
Chemnit. Examen. De Pœnit. Genev. 1634. p. 376.

[2] [Bp. Jer. Taylor's Pref. to Apol. for Set Forms of Liturgy. vol. vii. p. 309. Lond. 1828.]

[3] v. Bp. Sparrow's Rationale. p. 11, 12. 16. Lond. 1722.

[4] Can. 67. 1603.

[5] [*Communion Book*; Constit. and Can. 1604. Cardwell's "Synodalia." vol. i. p. 284.

[6] ["Then shall the Minister exhort the sick person after this form, or other like."] Rubric bef. Exhort. in Visit. of the Sick.

may use that, or the like Exhortation." From both which passages (although we are not greedy of liberty, yet for good reasons and the occasional necessity of accommodating our addresses in that kind to the particular cases of persons), we observe the moderation of our Church, in complying accurately with all the necessities of her people.

And further we note from that Canon, that although in prudence, and kindness, and Christian duty, the Minister may and ought in many cases to go of his own accord to visit his Charge especially: yet we cannot say that the Church doth bind always her Minister thereunto, till he be certified: according to the words of St. James (chap. v. ver. 14.) Is any sick among you; let him call for the Elders of the Church, &c. Yet because in a matter of such concern the Church would not have its Ministers use such a capricio, as to stand upon their niceties in so serious and momentous a matter, nor the people so forgetful of their own interest as to neglect their part therein, therefore (so punctual is our Church, and moderate according to reason), the Canon[1] only saith, the Minister having knowledge thereof, shall resort, &c.

Excellent was the Injunction of King Edward VI., 1547, and Queen Elizabeth, sect. 17, 1559,[2] "that the damnable vice of despair may clearly be taken away, and firm belief and stedfast hope surely conceived of all their Parishioners being in any danger, the Parsons, Vicars, and Curates, shall learn, and have [always] in [a] readiness, such comfortable places and sentences of Scripture, as do set forth the mercy and goodness of Almighty God toward all penitent and believing persons, that they may at all times (when necessity requires) promptly comfort their flock with the lively word of God, which is the only stay of man's conscience." Wherefore certainly it ought to be the special study of every Minister of God to provide himself, that he may be ready and dexterous to assist such as desire a spiritual guide and counsellor at so needful a time.

[1] [Can. 67.]

[2] [p. 7. K. Edw. Inj. Sparrow.]
[p. 72. Q. Eliz.]

2. The Order of the Church for the Visitation of the Sick, and preparing those of her Communion for death, is the same with that of the Church ever since the primitive times, which was Prayer and Absolution, and the holy Viaticum of the Body and Blood of Christ, which we retain:[1] "And I pray (saith Spalatensis), what proper and peculiar effect can Extreme Unction have on any faithful man for the occasion of passing from this mortal life to a glorious immortality, which may not be entirely obtained by faith and repentance, and the holy Eucharist, and alms, and prayer, especially the public Prayer and Absolution of the Church?" These and no other the ancient Fathers and Councils mention, as having the common and abiding promise of God, which extreme Unction hath not; and as it was used in and about the time that St. James speaks of "anointing the sick with oil in the name of the Lord," was a miraculous gift of healing, the effect of which was their recovery, as it follows; "and the Lord shall raise him up." Different from which also is the practice of the church of Rome, never or rarely aneling any with exorcised oil on the five organs of their senses, till they are past all hopes of recovery. From which practice the people of this nation was brought off by degrees: for in the first Book of King Edward the Sixth, the Rubric was thus; "If the sick person desire to be anointed, then shall the Priest anoint them on the forehead or breast, only making the sign of the Cross, saying, As with this visible oil thy body outwardly is anointed, so [our heavenly Father, Almighty] God grant [of his infinite goodness] that thy soul [inwardly may be anointed with the holy Ghost, who is the spirit of all strength, comfort, relief, and gladness,"] &c.[2]

Our church's care for preparing those who are of her Communion for Death, without extreme Unction in use in the Church of Rome.

C. viii. §. 8.

[James v. 14, 15.]

Unto which ceremonies of Chrism in Baptism and Extreme Unction (as it was then here in use) those repeated words of

[1] Et quem, quæso, effectum in homine fideli proprium et peculiarem habet, in sola occasione transeundi de hac vita mortali ad gloriosam immortalem, extrema unctio, quem fides, quem pœnitentia, quem Eucharistia, quem eleemosyna, quem oratio Ecclesiæ præsertim publica (stante divina misericordia et promissione) non totum ac penitus integrum possit assequi?

M. Ant. de Dominis de Republ. Eccles. Lond. 1620. lib. v. cap. x. § 12.

[2] v. Hamon L'Estrange's Alliance of Divine Offices, &c. Lond. 1659. p. 282.

Calvin may appear particularly to refer, and not generally to other Constitutions among us: "In the English Liturgy," saith he, "I see there hath been many tolerable trifles:"[1] which two words,—as conscious that they were very brigose and severe if too generally taken,—therefore he softens them in the next immediate words by an apology; "By which," saith he, "I mean, there hath not been that purity which might be wished." What he particularly meant, I suppose is expressed in another Epistle to the English Protector: "There are other things," saith he,[2] "perhaps not presently to be condemned, but yet of that sort as cannot be excused, viz., Chrism in Baptism, and the Ceremony of Unction:" which only if he referred to, how often have his severer followers been mistaken?

Many instances of the Moderation of the Church, referring to the Burial of the Dead.

3. In reference to the Burial of the Dead, the moderation of the Church is such, it concerns itself but as far as Christian religion doth, [3]confirming all natural and civil law herein: providing that Christian sepulture be decent, honourable, and religious, as becomes a Church in which the Resurrection of the Body is asserted: our church well remembering that the Christian religion did obtain by no means more than by the care the primitive Christians had of the Burial of their dead.

[1] In Anglicana liturgia, qualem describitis, multas video fuisse tolerabiles ineptias. His duobus verbis exprimo, non fuisse eam puritatem quæ optanda fuerat, &c.

Jo. Calvini Epistol. Anglis Francofurt. Amstel. 1667. tom. viii. p. 98. col. 1.

[2] Sunt et alia non perinde damnanda fortasse, sed tamen ejusmodi ut excusari non possunt, chrisma videlicet et unctionis ceremonia.

Jo. Calvin. Protectori Angl. Ep. lxxxvii. ibid. p. 42. col. 2.

[3] Canon. 68. 1603.

Quid referam etiam illam impietatem de vestra conjuratione venientem, quia ad hoc Basilicas invadere voluistis: ut vobis solis cimiteria vindicetis, non permittentes sepeliri corpora Catholica: ut terreatis vivos, male tractatis et mortuos, negantes funeribus locum.

Optat. Afr. Milevit. lib. vi. de Schism. Donatist. Lond. 1631.

Iis de quibus publice constat quod semel in anno non susceperint Sacramenta Confessionis et Communionis in Pascha, et absque ullo signo contritionis obierunt, Eccles. Sepultura negatur. Rit. Rom. de Exequiis. Antuerp. 1617. p. 145.

Wherefore Julian,[1] who was a great bigot to Gentilism, in an Epistle to his Gentile High Priest, recommends the practice of the same things amongst them, by which the Christian Religion got so much ground: which was by the gravity of the Christians' deportment, by their kindness to strangers, and by their care of Burial. And though indeed the ecclesiastical solemnity, by the use of the Liturgy, is forbid at the burial of such as die unbaptized,[2] or excommunicated, or have laid violent hands on themselves, the same is but in pursuance of the chief design of the Burial Office, viz., the benefit of the Living,[3] that all may avoid whatsoever may deprive them of such an honourable sign of being esteemed to have died in communion with the Church.

In our Church, Christian burial is not such a dumb show, as is the practice of a shameful company of people of this realm who have excommunicated themselves while they live, and therefore it is the less matter though they keep by themselves when they are dead. In our Burial Office, Christian people may be at once comforted and admonished. And because the whole Church, militant and triumphant, is united in one society, under one Supreme Head; because, also, at death the happiness of the best is but incomplete: therefore in our Church, we beseech God, "of his great goodness, shortly to accomplish the number of his elect, and to hasten his kingdom, that we, with all those, &c. may have our perfect consummation and bliss," &c. Here the moderation of our Church stops, and leaves the Romanists in their extremes. Although the bodies of the dead are often laid up in our Churches, according to the custom of the country, it is without any superstition required or allowed: the bodies and coffins of the dead are not sprinkled with holy water,[4] as if it was to

[1] οὐδὲ ἀποβλέπομεν ὃ μάλιστα τὴν ἀθεότητα συνηύξησεν, ἡ περὶ τοὺς ξένους φιλανθρωπία, καὶ ἡ περὶ τὰς ταφὰς τῶν νεκρῶν προμήθεια, καὶ ἡ πεπλασμένη σεμνότης κατὰ τὸν βίον.

Juliani Imp. ad Arsacium Pontif. Ep. xlix. Lipsiæ. 1696.

[2] Rubric bef. "Order for the Burial of the Dead."

[3] Satis enim est id quod mortuis accidit a vivis metui, ut hoc pacto a peccato retrahantur.

Grotius de Jure Belli ac Pacis. Amstel. 1631. lib. ii. cap. xix. §. 5.

[4] Parochus vero antequam cadaver efferatur, illud aspergit aqua benedicta, &c. Rit. Rom. de exeq. [in cap. "Exequiarum Ordo," p. 145.] Antuerp. 1617.

keep the evil Spirits from interrupting the worms: we attribute no effect to the garments we are buried in, which those Friars do, who persuade people to die and be buried in their habits, for the redemption of their souls out of Purgatory: there are not among us any Masses for the dead, Vigils, Trentals, adoring the Bones of Saints, worshipping their relics; which, with the like, the articles of King Edward the Sixth call "blind devotion:" there is not consecrating and reconciling church-yards with so many ceremonies and opinion of efficacy and necessity, as in the Church of Rome.[1]

The Bells which sound at Funerals among us, are not appointed for any superstition,[2] or to drive away spirits from the grave: and, because by death all are made equal, therefore all have the same Office for Burial; all amongst us are deposited in the same general place of the earth:[3] in other circumstances respect and distinction is permitted, according to the custom of the country, and the condition of the person deceased.

The Moderation of our Church is the same with that of the Christian religion, as it also leaves all nations to their proper usages, and doth not oppose any civil laws, or indifferent customs of this, or of any other kingdom: as it is observable, that God himself, though he forbid the people of
Lev. xix. 28. Deut. xiv. 1. Israel to "cut themselves, or make any baldness upon themselves for the dead, or printing any marks upon themselves," which were the practices of that idolatrous nation; yet in such ancient customs they had those which were innocent, referring to the manner of their burial, were permitted the same, notwithstanding they had them from the Egyptians and other heathen nations: whereunto even also the burial of our Blessed Lord Jesus was conformable, of which it is
John xix. 40. recorded, "They took the body of Jesus and wound it in

[1] v. Form of Consecration of Churches.
("Abp. Cranmer's Articles of Visitation:" 2 of K. Edw. VI.) Bp. Sparrow's Coll. p. 29.

[2] [Credunt deinde simpliciores ita affirmantibus suffraganeis, tales campanas baptizatas dæmones et tempestates pellere.]
Centum gravam. (li.) Browne's Fascic. tom. ii. 1690. p. 365.

[3] Redditur enim terræ corpus, et ita locatum ac situm quasi operimento matris obducitur. Cic. de leg. lib. ii.

linen with the spices, as the manner of the Jews is to bury:" "among whom" (as hath been noted[1]) "there was a kind of law, that they should use no other grave-clothes." Notwithstanding it is all one[2] to our bodies, whether they are deposited in linen or woollen; with spices, or without; in the earth, or in any other element; whether we lie in St. Innocent's church-yard, where the bodies soon consume, or in the sands of Egypt, where they last longer; or under the Moles of Adrianus. And if the minds of some seem uneasy in relation to one way of burial more than another, it convinceth us how great tyrants custom and imagination are: and perhaps, in no instance can it be confirmed more, than in the late alteration referring to burial, concerning which, St. Austin's comment might be of use: [3]"The Evangelist," saith he, "doth seem to me not in vain to have said, 'As the manner of the Jews is to bury,' for so (unless I am deceived) he admonisheth in such offices of piety which are exhibited to the dead, the custom of every nation is to be observed." Wherefore our Church of England always leaves the government of the kingdom to have its reasons to itself in what it appoints: instructing her sons also how little soever the matters are, from thence to receive the greater honour of obedience.

And because at so solemn a providence as is the death of our friends, if some well-disposed persons finding their minds then more lifted up to the desires of heaven, and become more mortified to the World, would take an opportunity of seriously commemorating the death of our Lord, who "by death overcame death," and opened the gate of heaven unto all believers; therefore there is a brief peculiar appointment for the celebration of the Holy Supper of the Lord at

[1] Bp. Pearson on the Creed, notes on Expos. Art. 4. Lond. 1683. p. 220.

[2] ——— Tabesne Cadavera solvat,
An rogus, haud refert.
——— Capit omnia tellus
Quæ genuit: cælo tegitur qui non habet urnam.
Lucan. Pharsal. vii. 809. 818.

[3] [Et laudabiliter commemorantur in evangelio qui corpus ejus de cruce acceptum diligenter atque honorifice sepeliendumque curarunt.]
Aug. de Civit. Dei. lib. i. cap. xiii. Par. 1685.

Funerals,[1] appointed 1560, with a Collect, Epistle, and Gospel, which bears a part of the Reformed Liturgy; which here is taken notice of, as a proof how refined every part thereof is from Romish superstition.

The like instance of inoffensive moderation may be the public Office appointed by Queen Elizabeth, for the Commemoration of Benefactors, which is used in our Colleges and Universities, which doth testify what worthy care we have of the memory of the deserving, though deceased; and also doth show how much purged these honourable Offices are from superstition.

[1] Celebratio cœn. Dom. in funebribus. R. Eliz.
Bp. Sparrow's Coll. p. 204.

CHAPTER XII.

OF THE MODERATION OF OUR CHURCH, IN WHAT CONCERNS THE POWER OF THE CHURCH.

The Moderation of our Church owns the power of the Church to be only spiritual.

1. The Church of England always hath confessed, that the power of the Church is only spiritual, and ministerial: (for the head, the authority, the conversation of the Church is in heaven:) hence it is that the appointments of the Church are not called laws, but canons, or rules, by which, the moderation of the Church rather leads than compels: yea, "in matter of Canons, the Bishops and Clergy do but propound such Constitutions as they think useful, and when they have done, send them to his Majesty, who perusing and approving them, puts life into them, and of dead propositions makes them canons; so are they King's Canons, not the Clergy's."[1] And the inflictions ecclesiastical, the Church herself doth not call punishments but censures; for temporal punishments are for vengeance, spiritual for discipline:[2] the temporal judge (except he be supreme) in many cases cannot pardon, the ecclesiastical judge cannot but pardon upon repentance; as our Church doth express itself in the Canons, "if the Offender revoke that his wicked Error." To this purpose St. Chrysostom[3] speaks, "The King remits the guilt of bodies, the Bishop remits the guilt of sins; the Prince compels, the Bishop exhorts: he governs by necessity,

[1] Bishop Hall's Remains. p. 430.

[2] [The King in ordinary ecclesiastical things to his temporal end, uses no ecclesiastical means, but temporal only, which are his proper business.]
Bp. Laney Serm. on 1 Thess. iv. 11. Lond. 1668. p. 142.

[3] Ὁ Βασιλεὺς λοιπάδας χρημάτων ἀφίησιν, ὁ δε ἱερεὺς λοιπάδας ἁμαρτημάτων· ἐκεινος ἀναγκάζει, ὁυτος παρακαλεῖ· ἐκεινος ἀνάγκῃ, οὑτος γνώμῃ.
Chrysost. de verbis Esaiæ. vid. Dom. Hom. iv. tom. iii. Par. 1636.

but we by counsel." So it is in the Injunction of King Edward the VIth, 1547, unto those who have the cure of souls: "They ever gently and charitably exhorting,"—"and in his Majesty's Name" strictly "charging and commanding," &c.[1] So in the third Canon, 1640, the sacred Synod earnestly intreats and exhorts the Reverend Judges, &c.[2]

All other power which ecclesiastical persons receive, is readily acknowledged entirely depending on the favour of our Kings.

2. As our Church doth lawfully assert her own spiritual power entire and inherent in the Church, so she hath always exercised her power in all subordination to the right of Princes;[3] and constantly acknowledging, that whatsoever power beside spiritual, the Church or its church-men have, she receives the same entirely from the favour of our Kings: wherefore our Bishops have exercised no jurisdiction (in foro externo) within this realm, but such as have been granted unto them by the successive Kings of England; neither have challenged[4] any such jurisdiction belonging to them by any inherent rights or title in their persons, or cavillings, but only by emanation and derivation from the Royal authority. Now the regular exercise of a derived power is so far from destroying, or any way diminishing that original power from whence it is derived, as that it rather confirmeth and establisheth the same:[5] wherefore the "Institution of a Christian Man,"[6] calls The Power of Orders a Moderate Power, subject, determined and restrained.

[1] [Bp. Sparrow's Coll. p. 3.]

[2] [This sacred synod doth earnestly entreat the reverend justices of assize to be careful in the execution of the said laws committed to their trust, as they will answer to God for the daily increase of this gross kind of superstition.]

Dr. Cardwell's "Synodalia," vol. i. p. 397.

[3] v. [Moreover, the trouthe is, that God constituted and ordeyned thauctoritie of christen kynges and princis, to be the moste hyghe and supreme above all other powers and offices in the regiment and governaunce of his people," &c.

Institution of a Christen man. 1537. p. 49.]

v. Homily of Obedience.

[4] Non enim dominandi cupidine imperant sed, officio consulendi: nec principandi superbia sed providendi misericordia.

Aug. op. Par. 1679. de Civ. Dei. lib. xix. cap. xiv. tom. vii. col. 559.

[5] Bp. Sanderson of Episc. not prejudic. to Regal Power. Lond. 1678.

[6] [Whereby is signified a certayne limitted office, restrayned unto thexecution of a special function or ministration.]

Instit. of a Christen man. 1537. p. 40.

The interests of the Kingdom and the Church are excellently accommodated in our Constitutions, which is not done in other models.

3. As the interests of the kingdom and Church are excellently accommodated, in our constitution of civil and ecclesiastical laws, under one supreme governor; so the moderation of the Church hath tempered herself very justly between those pretences on one hand, who have insisted on their pleas of spiritual right to the real diminution of Sovereign power, and those on the other hand, who resolve the exercise of all the inward power of the Church into the sole will and arbitrary power of the civil magistrates, according to Erastus, and the Leviathan-Author,[1] who thus delivers himself: The Monarch "hath authority not only to preach (which perhaps no man will deny;) but also to baptize and to administer the Sacraments of the Lord's Supper, and to consecrate both Temples and Pastors to God's Service." Wherefore our thirty-seventh Article declares: "We give not our Princes the ministering either of God's Word, or of the Sacraments (which thing the Injunctions set forth by Elizabeth our Queen,[2] do most plainly testify) but that only prerogative which we see to have been given always to all godly Princes in Holy Scriptures by God himself, that is, that they rule all estates and degrees committed to their charge by God, whether they be ecclesiastical or temporal." Which Article of our Church is agreeable also to the judgment of some Bishops concerning the King's Supremacy, in the reign of King Henry the Eighth. Other places of Scripture declare the highness and excellency of Christian Princes' authority and power: the which of a truth is most high, for he hath power and charge generally over all, as well Bishops, as Priests, as other: the Bishops and Priests have charge over souls within their own cures; power to minister Sacraments, and to teach the word of God: to the which word of God Christian Princes acknowledge themselves subject; and in case the Bishops be negligent, it is the Christian Prince's office to see them do their duty."[3] Which sheweth that

[1] [Leviathan: by Thomas Hobbes. pt. iii. ch. xlii. Lond. 1651.] p. 297.

[2] v. Canon 1. 2. 36.

v. Q. Eliz. Admonition. (Bp. Sparrow's Coll.)

[3] Ex. MSS. Dr. Stillingfleet.

v. Collect. of Records. Burnet's Hist. of Ref. vol. i. bk. iii. p. 177. Lond. 1681.

objection against the oath of Supremacy is groundless, which supposeth that the King is therein made not more a political than a spiritual Head of the Church:[1] which the Kings of England have constantly and openly disavowed to the whole world, renouncing all claim to such power and authority: though the regulating and ordering that power in sundry circumstances concerning the outward exercise thereof (in foro externo) the godly Kings of England have thought to belong to them as in the right of their Crown, and have accordingly made laws concerning the same, even as they have done also concerning other matters appertaining to the religion and worship of God.

The pious Moderation of our Kings, preserving their own rightful Supremacy, and leaving to the Church the exercise of their Spiritual Power, acknowledged by our Church.

4. Which being well considered, we have great reason to observe and extol the excellent and pious moderation of our Kings of England, who never challenged to themselves the exercise of the pure spiritual power of the Church, but left it entirely to the Bishops, as the lawful successors of the Apostles. Which more fully appears from the Proclamation, in the thirteenth year of King Charles the First of blessed memory, according to the certificate of the Right Reverend Judges under their hands, July 1, 1637: wherein it was declared, that "Processes may issue out of the Ecclesiastical Courts in the name of the Bishops," &c.[2] The Censures also of the Church are confirmed by the law of the Kingdom.[3]

And the behaviour of the Church to the King, sheweth the same exemplary moderation: for the ecclesiastical censures are with all due subordination to the supreme power secular used: because all "external jurisdiction coercive" is "by Law declared, and by the Clergy acknowledged to be wholly and entirely derived from the King, as

[1] v. Camden's Eliz. p. 31. Lond. 1688.

Bp. Bramhall to M. Militiere. p. 25. Dubl. 1676.

[Whiche notwithstandynge we maye not thynke, that it doth apperteyne unto thoffice of kynges and princis, to preache and teache, to admynistre the sacramentes, to absoyle, to excommunicate, and such other thynges, belongynge to thoffice and admynistration of byshops and priestes, &c.]

Institut. of a Christen man. p. 50.

[2] [Collier's Eccl. Hist. vol. viii. p. 135. Lond. 1841.]

[3] 1 R. Eliz. c. ii. (Act for the Uniformity of Comm. Pr.)

the sole fountain of all Authority of external jurisdiction, whether spiritual or temporal, within this Realm.—In other matter, "though the substance of the Power itself be immediately from God, and not from the King (as those of Preaching, Ordaining, Absolving, &c.) yet are they so subject to be inhibited, limited, or otherwise regulated in the outward exercises of that Power by the Laws and Customs of the Land, as that the whole execution thereof still depends on the Regal Authority."[1] Although then the Church knoweth itself to be a society in its own nature distinct, (unto which the nineteenth Article most properly refers,) yet (as very often now it is the unspeakable happiness of the Church to be entertained within the protection of supreme Powers secular, so) however the Church of England very justly declares for the right of Kings to be preserved inviolable, as well as the just power of the Church, and the real interest of the people: yea, all these interests with that of religion in the first place, our Church with great moderation and wisdom preserves entire and distinct: all which among the Romanists and other modellers, are miserably confounded or destroyed.

The just Right of Kings shamefully invaded by other Sects pretending Divine Right: concerning which claim, the Moderation of our Church observed.

5. Other Sects among us do some way or other deny the King's Supremacy in matters ecclesiastical: either claiming a power of jurisdiction over him, or pleading a privilege of exemption from under him. The Papists do it both ways in their several doctrines of the Pope's supremacy, and of the exemption of the Clergy.[2] The Presbyterians claiming to their Consistories as full and absolute spiritual jurisdiction over Princes (with power even to excommuuicate them, if they shall see cause for it) as the Papists challenge to belong to the Pope: and the Independents exempting their Congregations from all ecclesiastical subjection to them, in as ample a manner as the Papists do their Clergy: whereas the English Protestant Bishops and regular Clergy, as becometh good Christians and good subjects, do neither pretend to any jurisdiction over the Kings of England, nor withdraw their subjection from them, but acknowledge them to have

[1] Bp. Sanderson. Episc. not prej. to regal power. Lond. 1661. p. 32, 33.
[2] ib. p. 42, 43.

Sovereign[1] power over them, as well as over their other Subjects, and in all matters ecclesiastical as well as temporal. Which considerations verify what hath been often formerly declared: namely, that whereas now we are governed by canon and civil laws, dispensed here by twenty-six Ordinaries, easily responsible for any deviation from the rule of laws; conceive, should we be exposed to the mere arbitrary government of a numerous Presbytery, who together with their ruling Elders, will arise to near forty thousand church governors among us, they with their adherents must needs bear so great a sway, that they will not easily be reducible, and not consistent with monarchy.

And for the title of Divine Right, those of the Episcopacy rather purposely decline the mentioning of it, as a term subject to mis-construction: or else so interpret it, as not of necessity to import any more than an Apostolical Institution: and is pleaded by them with more calmness and moderation, and with less derogation from regal dignity, than by any other of the three.

The dutiful Moderation of our Church in asserting monarchy: The first Canon, 1640, justified.

6. As the most excellent form of government in our Kingdom most graciously and bountifully protects the Church, so the Church doth all she can to acknowledge the favour by asserting our Monarchy; which is but truly performed in Canon 1, 1640, if we thoroughly consider the same. Since then there hath been spread abroad an insinuation, that the said Canon did immoderately extol the divine right of Kings, as if no other form but Monarchy could in other states be lawful, or of God's ordinance, because the Canon saith, "The most high and sacred order of Kings is of divine right:" I may have leave to vindicate the same with all submission where it is due.

Where I conceive the words, "the most high and sacred order of Kings," may be justly and reasonably interpreted, first, and especially of monarchies, and also of all those supreme powers under what form or name soever they are called, in such places as they are lawfully constituted;

[1] Can. 1, 1640. ["Concerning the regal power." "Synodalia." vol. i. p. 389.]

which, doubtless are, as the Canon proceeds, "the ordinance of God founded in the primitive laws of nature;" which supreme Rulers are often expressed by the general name of Kings: And because of the pre-eminence and excellence of Monarchy above all other forms, the denomination of the order of supreme Powers may not improperly follow the more noble and excellent party: especially in a Kingdom where that is our only lawful form, it is properly and truly so affirmed, that the high and sacred order of Kings is of divine right: as being ordained of God himself; which just interpretation of the Canon is according to our Homily:[1] "Take away Kings, Princes, Rulers and Magistrates, Judges, and such Estates of God's Order, and no man shall ride or go by the way unrobbed."—"Blessed be God that we in this Realm of England feel not the horrible calamities which they undoubtedly suffer that lack this godly order," &c. Which the same Homily expresseth by the name of "Kings or other Supreme Officers," that is, the higher Powers, as ordained of God: and that the Canon means no other by the denominations of Kings, may be fairly gathered out of the following words of the Canon, wherein,[2] with excellent moderation in opposition to the usurpations of the Church of Rome, and other sectaries, what is there set down is most true of all rightful supreme Powers secular.

All interests of human society, especially of subjects' allegiance in our Church, abundantly secured, which is not done by those in separation from her.

7. The moderation of our church doth not favour any doctrines or practices which are prejudicial to the safety of human society in general, or this or any other rightful State or Kingdom in particular: it doth no where pretend to remit the Divine laws, or dispense with oaths, or transfer the right of Kingdoms, but leaves them without any imminution or change as it finds them:[3] "But,[4] after that ambition and desire of dominion entered once into ecclesiastical ministers, ...and that the Bishop of Rome, being by the order of God's Word, none other than the Bishop of that one see and

[1] v. Homily of Obedience.

[2] xxxvii. Art. of Relig.

[3] vid. Bp. Jewell's Apologie of the Ch. of Engl. Lond. 1600. pp. 126. 312, 313.

[4] Hom. of Wilful Rebell. Pt. v.

diocese, and never yet well able to govern the same, did by intolerable ambition challenge, not only to be the head of all the Church dispersed through the world, but also to be Lord of all the kingdoms of the world,....he became at once the spoiler and destroyer both of the Church,....and of the Christian empire, and all Christian kingdoms, as an universal tyrant over all." Insomuch that [1]"there is no country in Christendom which hath not been over-sprinkled with the blood of subjects by rebellion against their natural sovereigns, stirred up by the same Bishops of Rome." Would to God we might only read and hear out of the histories of old, and not also see and feel these new and present oppressions of Christians, rebellion of subjects, &c., being procured in these our days, as in times past, by the Bishop of Rome and its ministers: by the ministry of his disguised chaplains creeping into houses, &c. [2]"What a religion is this that such men by such means would restore, may easily be judged."

Contrariwise, our church of England requires all of its communion, to give the King such security of their allegiance and fealty, as may be a sufficient security to his government;[3] which security is with great moderation exacted in our realm. Nevertheless, Pope Urban VIII., in the year 1626, by his Bull bearing date May 30, forbad all Roman Catholics to take the oath of Allegiance: and since the happy Restoration of his Majesty, when several of his subjects of the Papal profession, offered by oaths (wherein the Supremacy is wholly waived) to assure their duty and obedience; the Pope and his Agents looked upon this overture as an apostacy from him, that is, from the Christian Faith, and persecuted all those who were concerned in the proposal,[4] of which see the Controversial Letters, and the late History of the Irish Affairs. Which most remarkable story is a strange proof of the dangerous influence on Kingdoms, which is to be expected

[1] Pt. vi.

[2] Pt. iv.

[3] v. Hom. of Obed. Pt. ii.

[4] [To this end the Third Estate drew up an oath of fealty to be taken by all his subjects; but it is not imaginable with what fury this was opposed by the Pope and Clergy.]

Diff. between the Church and Court of Rome. Lond. 1674. p. 30.

from the propagation of the Roman faith: and is also a great instance of the moderation of our governments, and how ineffectual the same is on such.

The Ordinances of our Church, are framed with great mildness and Moderation.

8. The Rules and Orders of our Church are mildly and moderately framed; our church being ever most removed from the guilt or humour of domineering over the consciences of any: she teacheth and enforceth the Divine commands, and useth her liberty in those things which are left undetermined, and are within her own just compass: the precepts of the Church, which are very few, are justly affirmed to bind by virtue of the command of God; yet their obligation—which is declared not to be universal, only to her sons, and that but so long as she judgeth expedient—is intended or remitted, as just reason of the case requires.

No Councils Evangelical are any where made into laws in our Church; or set up as a fund for merit and Supererogation, but are left free for our further exercise and endeavour after Christian perfection; which because it cannot be thoroughly attained in this imperfect state, therefore the moderation of our Church no where pretends to this perfection either of knowledge or of grace: so King James affirmed to the Cardinal; He never should boast of this Church as being perfectly without spot or wrinkle.

The same compared with the mild Obligation which Cardinal Bellarmine pretends the Church of Rome lays upon those of her Communion.

9. For illustration sake, if we would compare the moderation of our laws, with the laws of the Roman Church, we cannot better do it than by taking into consideration a chapter of Cardinal Bellarmine's,[1] wherein he useth very neat sleights to elevate the heaviness and number of the Pontifical laws, and to make them fewer or lighter than were the ordinances among the Jews: "For," saith he, "the Laws absolutely imposed upon all Christians by our Church, are scarce found any more than four: viz: to observe the Feasts

[1] Nam leges absolute impositæ omnibus Christianis, vix inveniuntur aliæ, quam quatuor, nimirum de servandis Festis, et de servandis Jejuniis, de Confessione singulis annis semel facienda, et de sacra communione habenda in Paschate.

C. Bellarm. de Pontif. Rom. cap. xviii. de comp. Legum. lib. iv. tom. i. Col. Agr. 1620. col. 873.

of the Church: and the Fasts: and to confess once a year: and to communicate at Easter." Indeed the men of that generation are so wise, that until any be a thorough proselyte, there is all show of Moderation that may be to entice them into their communion: but first, what bondage was there ever among the Jews comparable to that one obligation among the Romanists, to believe the Church and Pope of Rome infallible? with the consequences of that in practice, which are heavier than all the Jewish observances set together. Secondly, on the supposition that there were only those four general precepts of the Church, we may consider how great burdens any one of them singly do contain: (1.) In that their Feasts are so excessive in their number, and the observation of them have so many superstitions (v. Ch. 9). The same (2.) is to be said of their Fasts. (3.) In that Auricular Confession of all mortal sins, with all their circumstances, is enjoined as by Divine right (v. Ch. 11). (4.) The slightest Precept of the four is the last, of communicating at Easter: but considering therewith the round belief of Transubstantiation, which all are required to have, we may truly say with our Bishop Hall, [1]The Pope's little finger is heavier than Moses's loins.

But perhaps one reason why the Cardinal saith, there are so few Precepts of the Church, is because he will say that many of the rest are Divine commands, as extreme unction, &c. "The rest," saith he, "of which the tomes of Councils and books of Canon law are so full, are not laws, but admonitions only, or pious institutions without obligation to fault."[2] However, there are great store of them, of a great bulk: but it is strange that so many canons of Councils, and other laws enforced with Anathema, should have no intended obligation to a fault in case of transgression: why were such laws made, or why were such Anathemas annexed? "Or," saith he, "they are conditional laws, as of Celibacy, in case any enter into sacred orders; which are not to be accounted burden-

[1] Remains, p. 30.

[2] Cæteræ omnes, quibus pleni sunt tomi conciliorum, et libri Juris canonici, vel non sunt leges, sed admonitiones vel piæ institutiones sine obligatione ad culpam, quales sunt plurimi ritus Christianorum. Bellarm. (ibid.)

some, because the law leaves them to their choice; as also in case of Vows."[1]

How many and how strict observances are contained under such conditional obligations, is too well known to be largely insisted on. The purifications, the choice of meats among the Jews, had not all of them comparably so many rites, and orders, and laws, as the pontifical economy hath. But, to make the Precepts of the Church show very light and easy indeed, "The four laws of the Church," saith Bellarmine, "are rather a determination of the Divine law, than any new law; for by the Divine law we are bound to dedicate some time to the worship of God; sometimes to fast, to confess, to communicate." True indeed: but then the general rules of Scripture, the edification of a Christian people, the practice of the primitive Church, the ends of religious actions themselves, ought to give measure to laws, (as in the Church of England is practised,) and not to let their commands run out into such lavish extremity, where God hath left us at so large and safe freedom. Lastly, he saith, "The commands of the Church have a most moderate obligation: for in their Fasts those who are sick and aged are accepted: And for Festivals, their observation also is dispensed with upon a just cause."

So that in conclusion the Church of Rome is the most moderate governor that ever was, for there it is the easiest matter to get off from the strictest precepts that are, if you have money; but the poor cannot be comforted:[2] so great is the moderation of the Church of Rome, so large are her indulgences, whether for commission of sin, or for omission of duty.

Sundry instances of our Church's great regard to Equity.

10. Having mentioned the mildness of the Church's power, it is meet for the further shewing her moderation, to note, that our Church in the government of her ecclesiastical

[1] Vel sunt leges conditionales, id est, impositæ iis qui volunt ad sacros ordines admitti, ut de Cœlibatu; quæ non gravant Ecclesiam, cum nemo teneatur fieri Clericus vel Monachus. ibid.

[2] Nota diligenter quod hujusmodi gratiæ et dispensationes non conceduntur pauperibus, quia non sunt, ideo non possunt consolari.

Taxa Cancel. Roman.

Courts, in their manner of process, sentence, appeals, doth make use of the law of equity; moderating even the practice of that, also, with all due subordination to other superior laws. According to equity, our Church desires all its laws may be interpreted:[1] she admits of a mitigation of a rigid sentence: she doth sometimes dispense with her general rules upon the exception of a particular case: just reason requiring, she admits a commutation of her censures: when there is sufficient cause, she is ready to abrogate any such laws as are found inexpedient and insufficient: the reason of her laws ceasing, they are made to cease also: and, to take cognizance of their desires who ask a relaxation of strict or rigid law, there is a Court of Faculties constituted on purpose, to grant in many cases (not repugnant to the law of God[2]) a dispensation of some canons: and if the ecclesiastical senate among the Disciplinarians, might for the greater good of the Church, dispense with a rigid law, why may not the same be done in a Christian kingdom by such authority as the King and the laws have constituted?[3] And we count it a great moderation in our establishment, that there is amongst us a right of appeal allowed in case of unjust censure: and the moderation of our public government hath been such, that permissions which have been sometime known upon occasion, were never allowed to make void the laws of the kingdom or the Church.

It may be added that in the separation and division of causes, which is made between our ecclesiastical and civil courts; as excellent proportions and measures are observable, so instead of all is, that the rules of ecclesiastical practice are with all reserve and subordination to the laws of the Kingdom. For our church useth no other voluntary juris-

[1] Benignius leges interpretandæ sunt quo voluntas earum conservetur. Capienda est occasio quæ præbet benignius responsum.

[2] Camden. Britan. p. 181. Lond. 1637.

[3] [Si solum deliberativa seu consultiva, non adstringitur numerandis sententiis, sed ab ipsius arbitrio pendet, num majorem aut minorem, saniorem aut insaniorem partem sequi velit: et suffragio suo affirmativo aut negativo ipsorum suffragia affirmativa aut negativa tenues vanescere in auras jubebit, quotiescunque libitum fuerit.]

(Dav. Calderwood.) Altare Damasc. pp. 84, 85. Lugd. Bat. 1708.

diction than what is established or confirmed and limited by the statute or municipal law; for the execution of which, and to correct the excesses and defects which shall be found among the ministers or people; and to promote piety, righteousness, and sobriety of life and conversation, there are among us frequent Visitations appointed and practised by the Bishops and Archdeacons.

CHAPTER XIII.

OF THE MODERATION OF THE CHURCH AND KINGDOM, REFERRING TO THE ADMINISTRATION OF PUBLIC LAWS TOWARDS OFFENDERS.

The occasion of that mistake which is concerning the unlawfulness of Coercion in cases which concern religion.

1. As the nature of Moderation hath been explained, (chap. 1.) the most proper instances thereof are such, as shew the gentleness and mildness of the Church, with reference to such censures and punishments as are used and approved by her: which is most necessary to be observed, because the most general—but groundless—objection against the moderation of our Church hath been upon this occasion: which, if we truly consider, ariseth either from a mistake in judgment, that all coercion in matter of religion is unlawful; or else from an impression, which, on the fancy and affection of easy and soft dispositions hath been made, from the complaints of several; to whom whatever looks like penalty is commonly irksome and very unpleasing; especially if it happens that they are guilty of the same; wherefore they seem in haste to fly unto religion as their sanctuary against punishment; as if God's Religion, and his Church had different altars among us; therefore I doubt not but when the prejudice against the former mistake is taken off, Religion and the Church will appear to have the same interest; and the moderation of the Church may be fairly acknowledged.

It may be very well consistent with the Moderation of the Church (besides her own censures) to approve and sometimes desire such coercion.

2. For the distinct understanding what is right in this case, we may first consider how far toward this Coercion, the Church can move of itself.

We cannot but acknowledge the Church as a society established by our Lord Christ; and (which was necessary to the being of a Church) had rulers therein appointed, with authority and power to effect the necessary ends of govern-

ment: which could not be without a power of discipline, to rebuke and censure, and exclude from such a society, those who will not observe its just laws. Which proceeding was suitable to the Apostolical practice and command with relation to offenders; and agreeable to what was practised among the Jews in their synagogues; the common reasons of which are perpetually the same; namely, that such a Community and Fellowship as the Church is, be maintained in unity, peace, and purity; (since without these no such Society can subsist;) and that such offenders may, if possible, be reduced and amended; who are bound to submit to such censures, by virtue of their own first consent, which was the condition of being admitted to partake of the privileges of such a Communion. But in that general contempt which is cast on sacred things, through the grievous corruption of the age; since many are insensible of their duty and relation to the Church as members; and also are apt to despise the Church and her spiritual discipline: therefore, the church in a Christian kingdom being in other circumstances than considered alone by itself, receiving thereby defence in the exercise of its power, so far, that many times the Christian magistrate is pleased to add to the spiritual censures of the Church,—if need be,—such outward and sensible punishments, as may touch the bodies, or goods, or temporal interests of such delinquents: in such a case the Church hath a reason to accept of such defence, and to approve also and defend the same civil animadversions on offenders, since they are very lawful and useful, and worthy a Christian magistrate. Art. xxxiii.

3. He being appointed of God for the punishment of evil-doers, and to execute wrath on them: since they on whom the Church rightly inflicts her censures are evil-doers, therefore such also the more they undervalue the censures of the Church, the more justly are they the subjects of the civil magistrate's punishment. And since offences which affront the Majesty of Heaven are of the highest nature, the more religious a Magistrate is, the more care he will take to see such punished. And since Christian Magistrates owe that duty to God, from whom alone they receive their power and sovereignty; they are therefore especially to take care of

The use thereof in many cases relating to Religion, the undeniable Right of the Christian Magistrate.

religion; and common reason and experience instructs us, this cannot be done unless such laws are guarded with sanctions of punishments; that so they may be indeed a terror to those who will break the peace and order of the Church; especially when the peace of the Church hath so great an influence on the peace of the public State, or Kingdom; which, when it is Christian, the religion of the kingdom is the chief part of its laws.

This is the use of no other power than what the kings of Israel and Judah had, and in Christian kingdoms[1] hath been used, ever since any kings have become Christian, for the real good of the Church, whose members with all thankful acknowledgment have approved the same: as hath often appeared from sundry testimonies of the ancients which need not be repeated, since the several sects which oppose our Church, in this matter make use of the same power to the utmost, when they can come to it: as, [2]"the Independent Congregations in New England, have not only banished the Antinomians, and put Quakers to death, but have imposed a penalty of five shillings a [Lord's] day upon all that come not to hear their sermons." And as the Synod of Dort said,[3] "there is no order, no peace in the Church, where it may not be lawful to the Church to judge of its own members, and retain within due bounds their licentious humours."[4]

Gen. xviii. 19. We know God commended Abraham, because he would "command his children and his household after him, to keep the way of the Lord." And people of different persuasions do not question but it is reasonable for parents to correct their children when they absent themselves from such teaching as they order them, and when they refuse to read, or hear what concerns divine matters, in the way they judge fitting. And shall not the power of the supreme Magistrate have the like effect for the good order of the Church?

[1] Cod. lib. i. Tit. i. Amst. 1663. fol. i. [Corpus Jur. Civ.]

[2] H. Thorndike. Forbearance or Penalt. ch. xxix. p. 160. Lond. 1670.

[3] Jam vero nullus ordo, nulla pax poterit in Ecclesia Dei, si cuilibet quidlibet docere permittatur, &c.
Acta Synod. National. Dordrecht. p. 95. col. i. Dordr. 1620.

[4] Ut vaga ingenia coerceat intra debitos limites.

4. But many object, First; nothing ought to be so voluntary as Religion. And indeed Religion ought to be most free, even the choice of our mind, otherwise it cannot be our reasonable and acceptable service. But penalties (say they) make that to be servile, which ought to be most free: to which may be answered, that all acts of virtue are to be free likewise, and it is indeed more noble to observe good laws for the love of goodness, than the fear of punishment; but, sometime fear is the beginning of wisdom, and if men will not willingly observe such good laws, the suffering punishment is a less bondage than the slavery of sin. All christian duty ought to be free and voluntary, but if men are voluntarily vicious, heretical, and schismatical, the christian Magistrate may act religiously, voluntarily to punish them, even because they wilfully do what is evil, when they might have freely acted what was good: which offence is the more aggravated in matters of religion: therefore, for any to make religion their excuse for irregular practices, is to turn religion and the Church into a sanctuary of wickedness. Irreligion and heresies have their sensual baits and temptations, which fear of punishment wholesomely prevents, and usefully takes away.

Some of the chief objections hereunto answered.

2. Others object, that no man can be compelled to believe; for belief must follow the evidence of things to the understanding. 'Tis true, the rules of the christian Church do not allow force as a means to bring any to believe:[1] but those who have professed that they do believe, and thereby have become members of the christian society within a christian kingdom, and so ought to be obedient to the laws and orders thereof; if such by their speeches and behaviour say and do what tends to destroy that society, and disturb its peace and order, when by the execution of good Laws, the pravity of their minds, as it betrays itself by disorderly speeches and actions, is corrected; it may be a proper means to reduce such to a better mind, which may be the more thereby prepared to entertain a sound belief. When speculative errors become voluntary, they become sinful, and are

[1] Sed nec religionis est cogere religionem, quæ sponte suscipi debeat, non vi. Tertull. ad Scapulam. c. ii. Lutet. Par. 1664.

springs of vice; and therefore as the interests of the public may be concerned, so they properly may come under the animadversion of laws.

Yet we may take notice that the case is quite different between either infidels or weak Christians, and those who have been taught the christian religion; who call themselves Christians, and profess themselves of the society of believers; who presume of themselves, that they are far above the rank of ignorant or weak people: when these disturb the common peace of the Church, and are in danger to infect others; when the same disorder in the Church hath a dangerous influence on the peace of the kingdom: such, from the nature and laws of christian society, deservedly come under the censure of the Church, and the punishment of the civil laws, especially in a Christian kingdom. And it is a great blessing if such can by any means be reduced: it is but what is necessary, and what is a great work of Charity, as our Homily hath it.

3. Others pretend they ought not to be punished while they follow their *Conscience*. But, (in answer,) what if such a Conscience shall cast off all subjection, must therefore all execution of laws be unlawful? And they may so do, if they will, by the same reason. Again, what if any call that by the awful name of conscience, which is their prejudice, their false judgment of things caused by the irregular inclination of their wills; shall that excuse them from their manifest christian duty when they ought to inform their consciences right; and, also, (as of necessity,) be obedient for "Conscience sake?" The conscience therefore of any who are punished for their disobedience, cannot render that punishment unjust, when the laws themselves are good, and the execution of those punishments upon them are according to those laws.

4. Many will say that counsels and gentle instructions, are a surer and better way to prevail. And it is very true; and God forbid but they should be in their due place used: but if they will not prevail, they are left the more inexcusable, who, notwithstanding, are captious of exceptions against their governors, to justify their own schism. Others frequently appeal to experience of the inefficacy of punish-

ments to these ends; and that they rather confirm than root out the persuasions they strike at. And this also may be very true, when such penalties are either executed very unconstantly, or in excess, either to a degree of injustice or cruelty, and when the due ends and measures of punishments are not observed; whereas moderate and sober punishments are justly thought proper, to awaken the minds of offenders into due consideration and regard of their duty; but none can ever reasonably think, that it will conduce to the peace of the world for any to do as they list. And whereas it is frequently objected that the omissions of forms and ceremonies is more severely punished than greater faults. "How greater?" said Bishop Laney before the King: "our earthly tribunals are not erected to anticipate the day of judgment," to try men according to the "proper measure of their guilt," but for a particular end and use; "therefore in some cases such omissions are" pursued with more care and strictness, because they destroy "the very end for which the power is given the Church to punish, which is the preservation of peace and unity."[1]

Sundry proper instances of the great gentleness and most indulgent care of our Church toward all its Members.

5. Wherefore now it remains for us to observe the excellent measures of the moderation of our Church, in that gentleness and benignity, which is shewed in the administration of her laws.

Religion is nowhere allowed or desired to be more voluntary than among us: and nowhere any more required by their own choice, and free use of their own understandings, to take upon them the profession of their religion.

None by our Church were ever compelled to the faith: when did ever our church encourage any christian King to send his arms to compel any Pagans or Infidels to the faith?

Let it be remembered, none in our Church are punished only for their opinion: even the "Liberty of Prophesying,"[2] saith, "Opinion may accidentally disturb the public peace through the over-activeness of the persons, and the confidence

[1] [Sermon on 1 Thess. iv. 11. Lond. 1668. p. 90.]

[2] Bp. Jer. Taylor's works. Lond. 1828. vol. viii. § xvi. Num. 4.

of their belief, and the opinion of its appendant necessity: and therefore toleration of differing persuasions in these cases, is to be considered upon political grounds, and is just [so] to be admitted or denied as the opinions or toleration of them may consist with the public and necessary ends of government." Let it also be remembered, that our church and laws do allow a liberty of conscience, and which is more, a liberty of practice, to such a degree as the laws of the Kingdom and the Church judge safe for the public interest. 'Tis evident that they already allow a large and real toleration, within such bounds as they have judged the public peace may be secured: which large liberties all are not sensible of who enjoy them, because they compare not the effects of that "spirit of meekness" in our Church, with the cuts of those rods (and axes too, I may say) which have been prepared both by the Romish Communion, and by other Disciplinarians. And by the few things which our Church hath determined, since there is so great a liberty left for mutual toleration, it is evident that the divine moderation of our Church considers the frame of man; and the uncertainty, difficulty, and imperfection of Human Knowledge; the weakness and variety of human understandings: she alloweth much to the force of prejudice, education, and the power and artifices of seducers: our Church makes a great reserve of dispensation to persons of modest, humble, docible, and peaceful spirits; and proportions its censures to the degrees of malice, and the unchristian temper which appears in offenders; and chiefly designs securing peace, and the true ends of government, and the common interest of her Communion.

All Christian care is used to inform and instruct the ignorant, and those who are in error, with all meekness and patience:[1] counsels, debates, persuasions, concessions, indulgences, from time to time have been used, sufficient to justify our Church, and leave her obstinate adversaries the more inexcusable: the infirm and[2] weak our Church receives

[1] Propter hoc ergo, blanda pietate portandi sunt, qui increpari pro sua infirmitate non possunt. Prosper. de vita contempl. lib. ii. c. 5. Col. Agr. 1630.

[2] Veluti pueris absinthia tetra medentes
Cum dare conantur, prius oras pocula circum, &c. Lucret. lib. iv. 11, 12.

with an apostolic care, and earnestly provides, they be not led into doubtful disputations. It doth not only pray that all "such as have erred and are deceived, may be led into the way of truth," but requires her Ministers to use all private conferences and means that may be, to reduce the dissenting brother: which method at large is prescribed in the third Canon, 1640, "for the suppressing the growth of Popery;"[1] and is also provided for in the sixty-sixth Canon, 1603.[2] "It is not my purpose," said King James,[3] "and I dare say it is not the Bishops' intent, presently and out of hand to enforce these things without fatherly admonitions, conferences, and persuasions."[4]

Wherefore the rules of our Church require in the exercise of her authority, great gravity, temper, and wariness: "there being no earthly providence so likely to secure the obedience of children as that of [the] parents not provoking them; and the difference being not great (and the danger equal) whether that be done by too great severity of punishments, or levity of commands; the one abating the love, the other the reverence due to the parents.[5] Our church therefore maintains the reverence due to her, by laying greatest stress on the weightiest matters of the law: and declares "the keeping or omitting of a ceremony, in itself considered, is but a small thing;" (setting aside wilfulness and contempt;)[6] and,—which might in reason gain love to our Church,—her punishments are as mild as her commands are reasonable.

The Punishments for any errors, yea, heresy itself, which by our laws are allowed, or by our Church are approved, are so moderate, as thereby may appear, their design is not destruction, but amendment and edification. As our Church

[1] [Cardwell's "Synodalia," vol. i. p. 393.]

[2] [Ibid. p. 284.]

[3] Confer. at Hampton Court, by W. Barlow, D.D. Lond. 1604. p. 100.

[4] v. Refor. Leg. Eccl. de judiciis contr. hær. Lond. 1571. cap. iii. p. 12.

[5] Of Resolv. Controversies. by H. Hammond, D.D. Lond. 1674. vol. i. p. 433.

[6] Pref. of Ceremonies.

doth earnestly commend gentleness, so it practiseth the same, for as our Church saith,[1] "Honest natures will sooner be retained" in their "duties" "by gentle words" than by "extremity and severity;" and "frowardness is not mended with frowardness, but with softness:" wherefore the Institution of a Christian Man saith,[2] "The Bishops are not bound so precisely, but they may 'attemper' and forbear the execution of their jurisdiction, when by so doing the cure of the offenders, and the tranquillity of the Church may be furthered;" our church being of the same judgment with those Fathers of the Church, who when the Donatists were intolerable, they consented to some lesser penalty, but constantly condemned taking away their lives.[3] At other times our church moderates her censures in proportion to the offence, for the reducing the transgressor; using a medicinal censure, before a precisive; a less, to prevent a greater excommunication:[4] this, she resorts to as the last remedy;[5] and so also, that the Church hath her bosom open to any who return and repent of their wicked errors and practices: and upon repentance, our Church is more ready to absolve than otherwise to bind; and delights to give her sons to God, but very unwillingly[6] delivers them over to Satan.

Wherefore those who in the execution of the church-discipline, abuse the most excellent temper of the Church in the constitution of her laws, under the pretence of ecclesias-

[1] Hom. of the State of Matrimony.

[2] Instit. &c. 1537. (Sacrament of Orders. p. 46.)

[3] Semper tamen (Augustinus) excipit supplicium mortis, non quod illos hoc non mereri putaret, sed tum, quia hoc decere Ecclesiæ mansuetudinem existimabat; tum etiam quia nondum ulla exstabat lex Imperatorum, qua hæretici juberentur occidi.

C. Bellarm. de Laicis. tom. ii. lib. iii. c. xxi. Col. Agr. 1620.

[4] Canon 48. 88. [?] 109. 115.

[5] Monitio omnes fere censuras Ecclesiasticas præcedit.

De Politia Eccl. Anglic. Lond. 1617. cap. v. p. 315.

[6] Forma sententiæ excommunicat.

Lib. quorund. can. "Synodalia." Oxf. 1842. vol. i. p. 130.

Sic Episcopi affectus boni est ut optet sanare infirmos, serpentia auferre ulcera; adurere aliqua, non abscidere; postremo quod sanari non potest, cum dolore abscindere. Ambros. de Offic. Minist. Par. 1690. tom. ii. lib. ii. cap. xxvii.

tical authority, verily, they most of all deserve the Church's rod, and the dire point of her Anathema: "Let it be considered," said Bishop Taylor,[1] "how great a reproach it is to ecclesiastical discipline, if it be made to minister to covetousness, and to the need of Proctors and Advocates." "The more shame for the over-easy denouncers of that censure, that [either] inflict it" for "every trivial commission, without consideration whether or no repented of; or that use this sovereign recipe—unadvisedly, for any other end [rather] than reforming of the profane."[2] Where this discipline is duly exercised, if it hath not that effect as it might, and ought, much may be imputed to the immoderate refractoriness of the recusants among us, who are so devoted to their wills, that they have rendered our discipline more useless than it would be: yet sundry abuses referring hereunto, our Canons have endeavoured to redress.

The Moderation of the Church and kingdom not without their requisite and just bounds.

6. But there is a moderation in Moderation itself:[3] wherefore it is one great commendation of the moderation of the Church of England, and her supreme governors;—when the case hath required, their moderation hath been necessarily and conveniently governed, because of the danger thereof otherwise: for God used Samuel, as a messenger against Eli, for his excess of indulgence to his sons; and yet Samuel himself seems scarce free from the very same fault concerning his sons: and this indulgence occasioned the change of the civil government, as the former was the loss of the priesthood.[4]

1 Sam. iii. 13.

1 Sam. viii. 3, 15.

"Moderation" is confessed "an excellent virtue and much to be desired;—but then it" is "in a subject capable of it, wherein there are extremes and excesses to be moderated, as

[1] Ductor Dub. lib. iii. p. 259.

[2] Dr. Hammond of the Power of the Keys, c. v. §. 18. p. 263. vol. i. Lond. 1674.

[3] Atque inter hæc solerter intuendum est ne dum immoderatius custoditur virtus humilitatis, solvantur jura regiminis.

S. Greg. Regul. pastor. cur. par. 2. c. vi. Par. 1705.

[4] Iram benignitas mitiget; benignitatem zelus exacuat; et ita alterum condiatur ex altero, ut nec immoderata ultio, plus quam oportet, affligat; nec iterum frangat rectitudinem disciplinæ remissio.

Greg. M. lib. v. Indict. xiii. Ep. 57. col. 788. tom. ii. Par. 1705.

certainly there is in all our passions, there it is proper[1]—only this caution is to be observed in lenity, that it be such as may win men into the Church, not such as may secure and encourage them to stay without; yet lenity and gentleness is so good a virtue, that I am loth to cast water upon it, or seem to temper it. But for men of moderate opinions, I am at a loss to know what they should be; for moderation there cannot be but between extremes: now what extremes are there of opinions in a settled Church, unless the Church be one extreme, and the schismatic another? And then, the man of moderate opinions is he that is part churchman and part schismatic.

"Possibly they may bestow that good word moderation upon such as care little to observe the law themselves, or to require it of others. But if the law itself be too rigorous, in God's name let it be amended, and not left to the arbitrary power of others to do it, for that is known to be a remedy ten times worse than the disease."

[2]"There is no cruelty so great as" that of "laxness of government, nor any tyranny in the world like the rage of subjects let loose;" and the little finger of licentiousness is harder than the loins of the severest laws, and strictest government.

Therecourse which our Church desires may be made to the secular arm, is not but upon urgent and good occasion.

7. Yet our church hath not recourse to the secular arm, but upon urgent and good occasion: when the spiritual power of the Church cannot have all the effect which it ought, to keep men in order for their own good, and the common peace of the kingdom and the church, the supreme political governor hath right to restrain and animadvert on heretics and schismatics, that the contagion may not spread as doth a cancer, and that the disorder in the Church may not influence the disturbance of the kingdom: therefore when great reason moves, the Church is glad when the civil power will befriend it so far as to defend and protect it in its office, and sometime to render the same effectual, to enforce a common

[1] Bp. Laney's Sermon on "The Study of Quiet." 1 Thess. iv. 11. p. 94. Lond. 1668.

[2] Bp. Seth Ward, Nov. 5, 1661. Præstat vivere ubi nihil licet, quam ubi omnia. Serm. p. 58. Lond. 1672.

and public order even by the laws of the land: for, [1]"it is out of all doubt that the Bishops and Priests[2] never had any authority by the Gospel to punish any man by corporal punishments,[3] and therefore they were oftentimes moved of necessity to require Christian Princes to interpose[4] their authority, and by the same to [constrain and] reduce" the "inobedient" [persons unto the obedience and] to the "good order of the Church."

Our Government defended from unjust clamours of persecution, of the Romanists on one side, and the Separatists on the other.

8. Wherefore it is not improper here to take notice of the wrong notion which the Romanists and other separatists have entertained, not only of moderation but of persecution: as if every spiritual censure of the Church, or punishment of the magistrate for the greatest inconformity and disorder and breach of the peace of the Church, and the ecclesiastical orders of the kingdom, was Persecution; when indeed it is but defending the faith and the society of the faithful, that is, the Church: which is the noblest privilege of Christian Princes, and the most worthy execution of their power. Yet herein the immoderate calumnies of our adversaries appear more grievous, that upon any execution of this power, the offenders instead of accusing themselves, and being reconciled to the lenity of the Church, and the preserver of its laws, they accuse at one blow the whole frame of government of direful persecution, as if they had erected some terrible tribunal of inquisitors, which our church doth most of all abhor; and doth declare against punishing even heretics (as such only) with death, much less those who are falsely branded with that name, which is the cruelty of the Romish Inquisition: and, the moderation of our church hath no other punishments but what are just and proper to convince such, and reduce them, and secure their own; but indeed, if heretical and erroneous persons cause a schism and division, and make a breach upon the Church's peace; if the Christian Magistrate restrain or punish such, they do but as in the ancient Church the Chris-

[1] Instit. of a Christian Man. p. 46.

[2] ["Priestes and bysshops," ed. 1537.]

[3] [Corporal *violence*," ib.]

[4] ["Entrepone," ib.]

tian emperors have done, as when St. Austin[1] was forced to call upon the imperial arm for defence of the Church, against those kind of Donatists called the Circumcelliones.

The Romanists set up this cry of persecution, and the other separatists second the loud clamour.[2] Notwithstanding, "our edicts and statutes made for their restraint, are such as serve only to awake them, and cause them to consider the innocence of that cause, for refusal of communion in which they endure, as they suppose, great losses: those who are sent over by them either for the retaining the already perverted, or perverting others, are either returned by us back again to them who dispatch them to us, or without any wrong unto their persons, or danger to their lives, suffer an easy restraint, which only hinders them from dispersing their poison they brought, and had they not been still stickling in our state businesses, and meddling with our Prince's crown, there had not a drop of their blood fallen to the ground."[3]

Yet "they traduce our judiciary proceedings against them, for sanguinary and violent; striving to persuade other Nations, that such as have suffered by course of public justice, for religion's" sake "only, and not for treason have died."[4]— And the less wonder that these penal laws are not taken away, until those principles be fully renounced which gave occasion to them: yet this may be noted of the moderation of our government, in not suffering the course of our law to

[1] Insectamur vi potestatis secularis Hæreticos, non quia fidem deseruerunt, sed quia illi Catholicos usque ad necem persequuntur.

[A passage somewhat similar occurs Aug. Ep. clxxxv. 25. tom. ii. cols. 653, 4. Par. 1679–1700. Ed.]

[2] Quid juvant leges æquissimæ, ubi dominantur Domini, dixissem Tyranni, legum administri et executores?

Dav. Calderwood Altar. Damasc. p. 579. 1623.

[3] Tot conjurationes et machinationes et rebelliones publicæ in illo regno ortæ sunt, ut illæ non solum fuerint justæ, sed etiam moderatæ pœnæ delinquentium. Ad R. Eliz. Rex Jac. in Apologia.

Quod me de Catholicorum persecutione calumniantur, nunquam probari potest, quenquam conscientiæ causa et religionis ergo, me regnante, hactenus vel morte mulctatum fuisse, vel in mortis periculo versari. Rex Jacobus. ibid.

[For passages containing similar sentiments, respectively, with the above; and several of the same words; see K. James's Works, Lat. p. 264.]

[4] Mr. John Hales' Serm. "Of dealing with Erring Christians." Vol. ii. Glasg. 1765. p. 101.

proceed, but when the apprehension of danger hath been great.

As to most of our other separatists; "who seeth not their hypocrisy, who would make the world believe they are persecuted, when with too much lenity they are punished for their intolerable contempt of good laws: it is to be doubted what these men will do when persecution cometh indeed, who make now so much of nothing."[1]

The Moderation of our Church in this matter, Bishop Sanderson[2] thus also defends: "Our Church, it is well known, hath not always used that rigour she might have done. Where she hath been forced to proceed as far as deprivation, she hath ordinarily by her fair, [and] slow, and compassionate proceeding therein, sufficiently manifested her unwillingness thereunto, and declared herself a Mother every way indulgent enough to such ill nurtured children as will not be ruled by her. Those that are suspended or deprived, suffer it but justly for their obstinacy and contempt: for however they would bear the world in hand that they are the only persecuted ones, and that they suffer for their consciences, yet in truth they do but abuse the credulity of the simple therein; and herein, as in many other things, jump with the Papists, whom they would seem above all others most abhorrent from. For as Seminary Priests and Jesuits give it out [that] they suffer for religion, when the [very] truth is, they are justly executed for their prodigious treasons, and felonious and treacherous practices against lawful Princes and States: so the Brethren pretend they are persecuted for their consciences, when they are indeed but justly censured for their obstinate and pertinacious contempt of lawful authority."

'Tis well known the Quakers were hanged in New England: yet to these who so much cry out Persecution, saith the "Friendly Debate:"[3] Are you not allowed to worship God just as you please in your own families? May not some of your neighbours join with you? For shame

[1] Abp. Whitgift's Answ. to the Pref. of the Admon. pp. 35, 36. Lond. 1573.

[2] Bp. Sanderson's "Judgment in one View," &c. pp. 55, 56. Oxf. 1663.

[3] Friendly Deb. betw. a Conformist and a Non-Conf. Lond. 1669. p. 218. pt. i.

do not complain of persecution who are so kindly used,[1] who endeavoured in such a manner to oppress others: the Common Prayer was never imposed with such rigour as the Directory was."[2]

"We have already all the liberty which free-born subjects can enjoy, and all beyond is but license: but if it be liberty of conscience which they pretend, the moderation of our Church is such that its practice extends not to the severity of persecution, and its discipline is withal so easy that it allows more freedom to dissent than any of the sects would allow it: in the mean while what right can be pretended by these men to attempt innovations in Church or State? Who made them trustees, or to speak in their own language, the keepers of the liberties of England? Wherefore if a perfect pattern of dealing with erring Christians were to be sought, there were not any like unto this of ours, which, as it takes not to itself liberty of cruelty, so it leaves not [unto] any the liberty of destroying their own souls in the error of their lives."[4]

The Kings of England since the Reformation, and especially his present Majesty, glorious examples of this Moderation. The effect of this Moderation yet much desired and wanted.

9. Here humble duty and thankfulness and duty binds us to make mention of most glorious examples of Princely moderation which the Christian world ever hath exhibited, namely the moderation of our Kings which have been since the Reformation; which gives a great lustre to the subject here treated of: of whom those have been most fortunate to whom belongs that character, which was given of Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, [5]"He had skill and knowledge when rigour and extremity, and when remissness and moderation was in season:" or, as King James's phrase to the Parliament, 1622, was; "when the spur, and when the bridle, was

[1] Si ea quæ per misericordissimam disciplinam patiuntur, comparentur factis quæ furiosa temeritate committunt, quis non videat qui magis Persecutores vocandi sunt. Aug. op. Par. 1679. ep. lxxxix. 2. tom. ii. col. 220.

[2] M. Dryden's Ep. Ded. 1678.

[3] Mr. John Hales' Serm. "Of dealing with Erring Christians. Glasg. 1765. vol. ii. p. 101.

[4] καὶ τὸ ἔμπειρον τοῦ μὲν χρεία ἐντάσεως, τοῦ δὲ ἀνέσεως.
Mar. Anton. lib. i. § 16. Traj. ad. Rhen. 1698.

[5] Miscenda ergo est lenitas cum severitate; faciendum quoddam ex utroque temperamentum; ut neque multa asperitate exulcerentur subditi, neque nimia benignitate solvantur. Greg. Reg. Pastor. tom. ii. part. ii. cap. vi. Par. 1705.

to be used." The very enemies of Queen Elizabeth, among the Romish faction, could not but confess, that "her laws" and "proceedings" were very "mild and merciful:"[1] and yet how very often did they treasonably attempt against her life? neither did her indulgence sufficiently prevail with the other sort of Recusants to conform, as the Queen by all means did desire. That wise King James (in his Basilicon[2]) earnestly from our "dear-bought experience," warned his Son, that his mildness and lenity found in Scotland little effect: and "the loss of" his "thanks was all his reward." And in his reign, of the Romanists in England, Isaac Casaubon asked Fronto Ducæus,[3] whether the King's divine moderation in business of religion, had prevailed one whit among them.

King Charles the First was so great an example of Moderation in judgment and practice, that (as his character is in his Life) he pursued moderation in spite of the malignity of the times: yet he was made a royal Martyr, rather than he would betray the Church to either of its enemies on either extreme. The moderation and clemency of his present Majesty hath appeared to all the world as the most radiant lustre of his crown: and yet it may be an astonishment to the most moderate men to consider, how unaccountable the rage of the Jesuits, and some other Romanists have been toward a Prince of such divine clemency and wonderful grace, even to those of their communion: And how little the more peaceable and orderly and complying the greatest part of our other Dissenters have been, notwithstanding all that forgiveness and moderation and favour, wherewith he hath crowned both sorts of enemies, by heaping of coals of fire on their heads; where do we see either of them generally the more melted down into greater humility and observance? or the more inflamed in a passionate sense of the excellency of that Moderation which from the King and the Church they have

[1] Watson's Decachordion of Quodlibeticall Questions. p. 353. 1602.

Hist. of Romish Treasons, by Henry Foulis, B.D. bk. vii. ch. ii. (Vindic. of Q. Eliz.) Lond. 1681.

[2] [Basilicon Doron. 2nd bk. p. 157. Lond. 1616.]

[3] An illa divina in negotio de religione Moderatio quicquam apud vestros profuit? Is. Casaub. ad Fronton. Ducæum. p. 72. Lond. 1611.

so much experienced?[1] What re-condescension hath been made by them for all the indulgences of his Majesty from first to last?

Julian the Apostate was honoured as a wondrous moderate Prince, because he permitted his Sectaries then their liberty in religion: and Valentinian[2] the Emperor was in those days counted moderate, because he stood middle and indifferent (as we may say, between God and Baal, that is,) to any sort of worship.

But the Christian moderation of our Kings hath been so well tempered, I cannot express it but in some of their own words. "To any number of our Loving subjects we very willingly comply, with the advice of the Parliament, that some law be made for the exemption of tender consciences. Provided that this ease be attempted and pursued with that modesty, temper, and submission, that in the mean time the peace and quiet of the Kingdom be not disturbed: the decency and comeliness of God's service discountenanced; nor the pious, sober, and devout actions of those reverend persons who were the first labourers in the blessed Reformation be scandaled and defamed."[3]

So cool a Moderation methinks should have tempered and prevented the growing flame: or since, it might have been extinguished by that act of grace, among many others, which connived at their private meetings to the number of five, &c., which if only conscience rightly so called was the reason in the case, might have contented any sober dissenters: but, in that, unhappy was Alexander the Great,[4] he swelled the more for being confined. Nevertheless, what Thuanus said in his Epistle to King Henry IV. of France, hath been much

[1] Ne regum quidem mansuetudine abuti consultum est. Non ignorant illi vires suas, sed pro sua clementia, mollioribus, si fieri possit, remediis, huic malo mederi malunt, quam cauteriis aut sectionibus.

Erasm. de amab. eccl. concord. ad fin. Lugd. Bat. 1704. tom. ii. p. 506.

[2] Postremo [Valentinianus] hoc moderamine principatus inclaruit, quod inter religionum diversitates medius stetit; nec quenquam inquietavit; neque, ut hoc coleretur, imperavit, aut illud.

Ammian. Marcellin. lib. xxx. cap. ix. tom. iii. Lips. 1808.

[3] K. Charles's Declaration. Works. vol. ii. p. 75. Lond. 1662.

[4] Æstuat infelix angusto limite mundi. Juven. x. 169.

more true in our case among us:[1] You, Sir, have graciously restored them to their houses and goods, and most of them you have adorned with primary dignities, supposing that by degrees their hatreds being assuaged, and that concord which you have decreed being more conveniently established among those that were at enmity, thereby cheerfulness being returned to their minds, what in Religion is best, and what is most ancient may be discerned,[2] &c. Yet notwithstanding all the moderations which have been used, the Romanists have gone on in their serpentine way of insidiousness: and the sectaries also have been like the deaf adder which will not hear the voice of the charmer, charm he never so wisely: but we may not wonder if the favours and bounties of Princes cannot make them be thought so much as moderate, with some sorts of Romanists such as are of Suarius's[3] mind; who treating of the English Persecution under King James, argueth very scholastically, his pursuing them with favours and benefits to be even one great part and aggravation of their Persecution; that being only a politic kind of dissimulation, by blandishments and honours to gain upon their minds: O the favours of good Princes sometimes ill-placed, thus to be commented on, and requited!

[Psalm lviii. 4, 5.]

[1] [Quo eos bonis ac laribus, necnon famæ et honoribus restituisti, plerosque etiam ex iis primariis dignitatibus ornasti: ratus futurum, ut, detumescentibus sensim odiis, concordia edictis sancita inter infestos commodius sarciretur, et per eam serenitate mentibus reddita, quid in religione optimum, hoc est, antiquissimum, summotis affectibus, quasi discussa nube, facilius dignosceretur.
Thuani Histor. Præfat. ad Henr. IV. Lond. 1733. tom. 1.]

[2] Ut ex eorum quiete, aliorum adhuc in schismate positorum corda flectantur.
Greg. M. lib. ix. Indict. ii. Epist. xcv. col. 1000. tom. ii. Par. 1705.

[3] Præterea favores, et beneficia, quæ Catholicis se contulisse refert, et parvi momenti sunt ad excusandam Persecutionem: non enim Religionis causa illis favere, vel potius cum illis dissimulare incepit, sed ob rationes politicas, ut in principio regni sui omnes sibi aliquo modo conciliaret. Et fortasse illis blanditiis et honoribus eorum animos lucrari cupiebat [ut eos postea in rebus etiam religionis facilius voluntati suæ obsequentes inveniret.] Quod si ita est illa non excusatio sed potius pars et augmentum Persecutionis censenda est.
Suarii Def. lib. vi. cap. x. de Persec. Angl. col. 871. Col. Agr. 1614.

CHAPTER XIV.

OF THE GENERAL MODERATION OF OUR CHURCH TOWARD ALL THAT DIFFER FROM HER, AND ARE IN ERROR.

Our Church takes an universal care to satisfy and reconcile those who differ from her: particularly our domestic Dissenters, to whom sundry concessions have been made.

1. ALTHOUGH the lenity and benignity of our Church toward those who differ from her, even toward offenders, hath sufficiently appeared from what hath been already delivered; yet moreover, in an universal care to satisfy all who differ from her, and to reconcile them to truth, and to herself, our church hath been always ready to give an apology and reason of her faith and practice. Particularly, our Domestic Dissenters have less reason to except, because our Church hath wisely and faithfully provided whatever is necessary or expedient for those who are or ought to be within her communion: as becomes a good steward of the family of Christ, there is in her house, "the Church of the Living God," whatsoever is requisite to promote the true worship of God, the communion of Saints, the kingdom of Christ, the emendation and edification of all in brotherly love, and faith, and godliness, as appears from the excellent monuments of the Church's piety, her Articles, Liturgy, Canons, and whatsoever else belongs to her Constitution: the church-doors are open; we have the holy Scriptures in our mother tongue frequently read and expounded in Preaching and Catechism; we have the excellent Prayers generally accommodated to all public occasions, and the Holy Sacraments rightly administered, and all spiritual means necessary to prevent heresy and schism: over and above, we have our Prince, the professed Defender of our Faith; and the assistance of the Ministry of God for all particular occasions, public and private, which human foresight generally can procure: of these things we have a large confession in the

[1 Tim. iii. 15.]

"Morning Exercise against [1]Popery." Our dissenting friends should therefore consider that the case is quite different from the condition of the Church, when it was forced to assemble together in [2]"low and poor conventicles, simple oratories," and "caves under ground, called Cryptæ," "for fear of persecution." Since these things are so, a wild humour possesseth too many who run into dangerous and forbidden Conventicles, scandalously insinuating, that our Church and Kingdom rather persecute than encourage Christianity.

But because nothing in this world is so perfect but may have its exceptions framed against it, especially when fair constructions are not allowed; therefore for the sake of peace, and in hope, by the Church's condescension and endeavour to remove even all suspicion of what is blame-worthy, there have from time to time been many concessions made, for the utmost satisfaction of all, in what hath been thought expedient: our church being of the mind of Father Nazianzen;[3] who in his Oration of Peace, said, "Come, let us give way, that so we may overcome; let us grant a little, that so we may gain a great deal, even peace." Not only in Queen Elizabeth's time some things were changed, (then being taken into advice, many learned and moderate Divines,)[4] but even since our Reformation, there have been concessions made in accommodation to Dissenters: our Church still "holding the mean, between too much moroseness, and too much easiness in admitting variations."[5] There are two sorts of popularity, said Calvin to Farellus; one, when with ambition and lust to ingratiate ourselves, we hawk after the popular air; the other, when by moderation and equity, we endeavour to engage the affection of men, only to render them more docible. This latter practice belongs to our Church: which hath wisely accommodated herself

[1] Serm. ix. p. 295. Lond. 1675.

[2] Homily of Idol. part iii.

[3] *συγχωρήσωμέν τι μικρὸν, ἵνα τὸ μεῖζον ἀντιλάβωμεν, τὴν ὁμονοιαν· ἡττηθῶμεν*, &c.
Greg. Nazianz. Orat. de Pace Secunda. Par. 1778. tom. i. § 16. col. 424.

[4] Camden's Hist. of Q. Eliz.

[5] Pref. to the Liturgy.

to all, to gain[1] some; our Church being of the temper of those whom Tully[2] calls courteous and sweet, who gently show those that err the way; which is the true Christian disposition, different from what Juvenal[3] described in the Jews. Yea, one of the great perfections of the Christian practice (which is an universal charity to all, even enemies,) may be much promoted by our Church's Prayers, where we pray "for all men," and "for enemies," and "for persecutors and slanderers:" yea, such is the charity of our Church, that in it every one is presumed good, and orderly, and willing to be of her communion, until it appear lawfully to the contrary.

Our Church is not forward to denounce Curses against those who are not of the same judgment with her.

2. Whereas of the extremes of the separation on either hand from our Church, it is too well known how generally they give out themselves as the only children of God's Church, the only beloved of God, and scarce admit any else to have any portion with their saints: nevertheless, for such matters as they contend, our Church is not busy to send men presently to hell [4]with an anathema in their ear, crying out against them, "Go ye cursed:" yea, very moderate she is in her judgment of the final condition of any without good and sufficient grounds, because of the unsearchableness of the Divine Providence in his government of the world, and of particular men: yet the moderation of our Church is not of such a latitude to hold, "that every man may be saved by the Law or Sect which he professeth, so that he be diligent to frame his life according to the law and light of nature; for Holy Scripture doth set out unto us only the name of Jesus Christ,

[1] Submittentem se ad mensuram discentis ..... det manum, et gradum suum minuat. Quintil. Inst. Orat. II. 3. 7. Oxon. 1806.

[2] Homo, qui erranti comiter monstrat viam
Quasi de suo lumine lumen accendat, facit.
Nihilo minus ipsi lucet, cum illi accenderit.
Cic. de off. I. xvi. 6. Oxon. 1816.

[3] Non monstrare vias, eadem nisi sacra colenti. Juv. xiv. 103.

[4] Neminem non rerum nimis ignarum latet præfatam Pontificiorum feralem doctrinam uno politicæ artis consilio invectam esse, ut terrore mortis æternæ credulas animas in suum obsequium trahant.
Andr. Sall, D.D. Votum pro pace Christ. Oxon. 1678. p. 3. cap. ii.

whereby men must be saved :"[1] wherefore in giving account of the remission of such punishments as are declared by the Divine Laws, our church doth not think fit any should be wiser than those laws themselves, and the Divine Revelation. The Church of England, said Archbishop Laud, is not such a shrew to her children, as to deny her Blessing, or denounce an Anathema against them, if some peaceably dissent in some particulars remoter from the foundation.[2]

Our Church doth not judge all according to the consequences of their Doctrines.

3. Neither is our church so severe, as to judge of all [3]erroneous persons according to all the consequences of their doctrines, which, we presume, in many cases are beyond the comprehension and knowledge of the party so erring: much less is our Church at any time busy to exulcerate the minds of any, by attributing to them such consequences as their assertions will not bear.

In refusing an adverse Party, our Churchgives an excellent example, not to use odious Names.

4. In refuting the objections of an adverse party, our Church gives an excellent example to her sons to abstain from odious Names. Most wholesome to this purpose was the Injunction of Queen Elizabeth ;[4] that the knot of all Christian society, which is Charity, be not loosed, the Queen's Majesty straightly commandeth all her subjects to forbear all vain contentions and disputations in matters of Religion; and not to use, in despite or rebuke of any persons, these convitious words, Papist or Heretic, Schismatic or Sacramentary. So King James said, "He would not have Pulpits made Pasquils ;"[5] and in his [6] Letter to the Archbishop, requires, "that no Preacher of any denomination

[1] Artic. of Rel. xviii.

[2] Dissensio de minimis et de opinionibus repugnat quidem paci perfectæ in qua plena veritas cognoscetur et omnis appetitus complebitur; non tamen repugnat paci imperfecte, qualis habetur in via.
2da 2dæ Thome de Aquino. p. 34. fol. Ven. 1493.

[3] Maxime cum sciat eos ea facere quæ nesciunt; nostros autem negligere quod credunt. Salvian. de gub. Dei. lib. v. § 143. Altorf. 1611.

[4] Inj. § 50. 1559. Bp. Sparrow's Coll. p. 80. Lond. 1675.

[5] Confer. at Hampton Court. (Dr. Cardwell's "Conferences." Oxf. 1840. p. 192.)

[6] K. J.'s Lett. to Abp. of Cant. conc. Preaching and Preachers. Lond. 1642. p. 4.

whatsoever, presume to fall into indecent railings against the persons of Papists or Puritans." So in our Subscription for University Preachers, we promise "we will preach without odious invectives, and indiscreet discourses by name, or plain circumstances: we will not defame any man."

Much to this purpose is set forth in our Homilies,[1] that by being "soft, meek, and gentle in answering," we may "overcome" our adversary with "gentleness;" especially in matters of Religion and God's Word, which should be used with all modesty, soberness, and chastity: "for it is better to give place meekly, than to win the victory with breach of charity:" of such an apostolical spirit is our Church![2] So St. Austin called the Pelagians, and Optatus of Milevis, his contemporary, called the Donatists, Brethren: and before them, St. Cyprian wisheth and persuadeth that none of the Brethren might perish: so our Church calls, and treats the Dissenters as Brethren. In confuting opinions, our church always spares the persons, how severe soever she is upon the error; because in the divisions of hearts that are in the world, it is certain some good may dissent.[3] So moderate also and just is our church, she is far from deterring others from her communion, by branding any with the note of heresy, unless upon just reason and cause: distinguishing also between a heretic, and those who are by heretics seduced.[4] Yea, where there might be just cause, our church rather chooseth to imitate St. Paul's "demeanour at Athens, where finding the city full of idols, or wholly given to idolatry; he doth not fall foul upon them, nor exclaim

[1] Hom. against Contention.

[2] Pius ac simplex affectus interdum tolerandus est, etiamsi sit cum aliquo conjunctus errore.

Erasm. de amab. Eccl. Concor. Lugd. Bat. 1704. tom. v. col. 501.

[3] Bp. J. Taylor's Duct. Dub. lib. iii. cap. iv.

[4] Si tamen quosdam schismatum duces et dissensionis auctores in cæca et obstinata dementia permanentes non potuerit ad salutis viam consilium salubre revocare; cæteri tamen vel simplicitate capti, vel errore inducti, vel aliqua fallentis astutiæ calliditate decepti, a fallaciæ laqueis vos solvite, vagantes gressus ab erroribus liberate, iter rectum viæ cœlestis agnoscite.

Cypr. de unit. Eccl. Par. 1726. p. 202.

Bp. Sanderson's Pref. to his Serm. § 16. Lond. 1657.

against them in any reproachful manner; no, nor so much as call them idolaters, though they were such, and that in a very high degree; but tempering his speech[es] with [all] lenity and condescension, he telleth them of their superstition; and that in the calmest manner, *Δεισιδαιμονεστέρους*," (ye are some- Acts xvii. 22.
what too superstitious,) "the comparative degree in such kind of speaking being usually taken for a diminuent term."

Our Church useth great care to preserve and restore peace.

5. In reference to peace and charity, which is the excellent bond of ecclesiastical society, the moderation of the Church appears from its most earnest and frequent precepts, and desires, and declarations for peace; it being that quiet condition of being, in which any thing may exercise its proper and suitable actions, in order to its good and perfection. Wherefore, because the proper actions of the Church regularly tend to the perfection of truth and goodness; and these most obtain when peace bestows upon them ornament, strength, and blessing; therefore our Church hath done so much to procure, to keep, to restore this peace every where, especially among the Churches.[1]

The Moderation of the Churchgives it a singular advantage to convince Dissenters upon right and proper Principles.

6. The moderation of our Church gives it a singular advantage to convince Dissenters upon right and proper principles: in defect of which, in disputation with the Romanists, Bishop Sanderson and others have observed, many have disserved their cause, either mistaking the question, or mingling some of their own false principles with their argument; either over-shooting, or coming short of the mark. Wherefore those of our Separatists are very injurious to the Protestant cause, who take so much pains to elevate and depreciate the labours of our conformable Clergy, which so sensibly have pressed the Romanists, because they have managed those controversies upon the only right principles; which requires greater variety and depth of true learning,

[1] See the Questions in the Ordination of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons.
K. Edw. VI. and Q. Eliz. Injunct. § 21. (Bp. Sparrow's Coll.)
Homily of Charity.
Homily against Contention.

than seems to be well consisting with the principles of a rigid separation.

The Moderation of our Church doth incomparably qualify her to arbitrate and reconcile the present differences of the Christian Churches.

7. Because of the excellent moderation of our Church, it hath been judged by the most learned, and the most equal judges of things, so well pitched in her principles, and of so rare a temper in her Constitution, that it is rightly resolved to be the best and most proper for[1] arbitrating and reconciling the present differences of Christendom. Wholesome indeed was the advice which King James gave his Divines which were to be at Dort: In case of "main opposition between any [who are] over-much addicted to their own opinions, your endeavours shall be, that certain propositions be moderately laid down, which may tend for the mitigation of heat on both sides."[2] The same is already performed in our Constitution for a general accommodation of controversy: neither will any, I hope, have the worse opinion of our Church, because Grotius thought "the Church of England," a "right medium of[3] Reconciliation:" whose "pacificatory design," Mr. Baxter took to be "one of the most blessed noble works that any man can be employed in."[4] And certainly peace without the loss of truth, is a most valuable acquist: yet men's fingers do so itch after the maintenance of their [own] opinions, that they can hardly contain themselves from flying upon the fairest moderation of any umpire.[5] Wherefore no wonder that the Church of England hath the fortune of other wise and good arbitrators, not to please both parties;[6] therefore our Church hath this left her, (as

[1] A literato quodam et experto viro accepi perniciosam esse in omni arte vel doctrina assertionem audacem et extremam, maxime ubi observatio communis obnititur, obviatque.

Gersonii Lib. de vita spirit. anim. Par. 1606. part. iii. col. 207.

[2] [v. Collier's Eccl. Hist. vol. vii. p. 405. Lond. 1840.]

[3] v. Bp. Bramhall's Vind. p. 612.

[4] Ib.

[5] "Via Media;" in the Remaining Works of Bp. Hall. Lond. 1660.

[6] Denique id accidit, quod usu venire solet iis qui contrarias opiniones student reconciliare: ut utrique in media opinione oppugnanda vires suas consocient, ipsi interim in opinione sua multo quam ante obfirmatiores.

(Petri Suav. Polani) Hist. Conc. Trid. Aug. Trin. 1620. lib. iii. p. 239.

such have,) to be satisfied in her own integrity. But however, in this matter, our church cannot, I conceive, so properly be termed an arbitrator or umpire of the differences of the Church (how fitly soever she is qualified to be;) as she hath determined for herself, (which she hath right to do,) according to the word of God, and the practice of the universal Church: yet in this our church hath performed so much as might be made use of, in order to a due reconciliation.

For, suppose a kingdom or state well settled, as was the primitive Church by Christ; and there happens a rebellion or division: the means of reconciliation are the Laws; to attempt a reconciliation further, is in no hand of right but theirs who have power of the law: any design further is but a speculation: and so, in the Church, to speak of reconciliation, otherwise than upon the foundation of its establishment, is neither safe nor obtainable. What is removed from the foundation, is the proper matter of charity and mutual forbearance: but as the different judgments and interests of the divided world are now, a reconciliation is thought impossible, and generally impracticable: but because the very speculation of peace is delightful, we make in the idea this supposition.

A supposition laid down of the most possible means of reconciling a Protestant, and such a Romanist as lays aside Infallibility: and that the Church of England hath done her part, in what was fit, toward any just reconciliation.

8. Admit, (which is a case possible,) some few families of well-bred, and better disposed persons, but of as different persuasions in the extremes as any are among us, were to settle together in some remote island, and had a singular inclination to compass a communion with each other, in what they might in spiritual matters; the means to bring this about, one would think, must be the same which all wise persons would take to convince another of a different persuasion; namely, by moving upon such principles as both agree in: which being improved to the utmost they are capable of, must be between them the common foundation of possibility of agreement. Suppose then, upon this score, a Romanist and an extreme Dissenter should yet agree in the most fundamental Articles of faith, contained in the received Creeds; and in acknowledging the Holy Scriptures in their original; or admitting the vulgar version, or the like; and if they admit the four first General Councils, so much the

better: upon this stock an accommodation must be negociated amongst them; (1.) neither pretending to be Dictators one to another (for that will spoil all); but to acquiesce as these principles and their best reasons shall govern them to a fair intercourse in common. For union in practice, (2.) no unjust condition of communion must be enjoined on either hand: nor anything but what is very necessary and clear, as well as they can, agreed on according to those first rules. (3.) Both must sincerely bear with one another, in what they appear to differ, and to forbear all occasions of giving mutual distaste that may be. (4.) Sufficient security must be mutually given against such principles, the professing and pursuing of which necessarily destroys all civil and spiritual communion; as for instance, that faith is not to be kept with those whom one part calls Heretics: or, that right of dominion one over the other is founded in saint-ship, &c. (5.) For accommodation in peace-sake, if these and the like principles and doctrines be publicly and sufficiently renounced, then they must mutually take care, that the evil consequence of either shall not be imputed to those particular persons who do detest them and acknowledge them most impious.

This being the proper foundation for communion together in Doctrine, Sacraments, and Discipline; the consequent business is to convince such as will admit of the debate, that those doctrines and practices which are received, above and beside what are mutually agreed in, do really contradict the clear contents of the Scripture, or the judgment of the universal Church, and are not of safe influence on the Christian religion. It may do well to be shewn by instances of fact, and the light of concurrent Tradition, when the particular innovations entered in, by what occasions and degrees, and the evil consequences of them all: which will more effectually be performed, if it can be demonstrated, that most of this is acknowledged by the many of the sincere amongst themselves, at quiet intervals; and if they can, distinguish between what might be of original good intent, or had at least a plausible pretence; and what is of manifest corruption.

So much of all this as was proper and belonging to the Church of England to perform, that she may acquit herself

from the imputations of those who deny her Communion, let the whole Church of God judge how carefully, and how peaceably she hath done her part. But those of the Church of Rome, who have appeared desirous of reconciliation, have done it either for civility of conversation, or out of design, or without leave of their superiors: for, admit Protestants could open a door to the peace of Christendom, the Romanists[1] set a bolt on their side by their doctrine of Infallibility, (however they place it,) whereby they seem to think it unlawful to correct themselves of such errors as most grievously divide the Church. Therefore, as the case stands, the learned Thorndike[2] professeth himself freely, to be without any manner of hope, that ever the See of Rome will abate anything of their rigour, though the Reformation should content themselves with these terms; for I find, by the proceeding of former times, that it is their maxim, to stand to that which they have once done; and to mark those Popes to posterity that have abated any thing from the rigour of their predecessors. For, being arrived at this greatness; by this rigour and obstinacy in all pretences, right or wrong, they will always think themselves obliged in reason of state, not to yield so much as the cup in the Eucharist:—not considering all this while that this rigour is the cause of division.

"The remedy therefore must begin from those parties which have given cause of the breach: if they shall remit of their undue height and rigour, and be content with those moderate bounds, which God hath set them, both for doctrine and government, and yield themselves but capable of error, there may be a possibility of union and peace; but while they persist to challenge an Infallibility of judgment, and uncontrollableness of practice, they do wilfully block up the way to all reconciliation and concord, and stand guilty of all that grievous schism, under which the Church of God

[1] Num vero spem aliquam ostendunt (Pontificii) Moderationis, levationis, et emendationis in ritibus istis Pontificiis et annexis superstitiosis opinionibus? Nihil profecto minus. Quin execrandum anathema dicunt nisi quis omnes illos ritus, cum opinionum illarum appendicibus credat esse illius Catholicæ Ecclesiæ ritus, quam Nicenum symbolum definit esse Apostolicum.

Chemnit. Exam. Conc. Trid. Francof. 1596. part. ii. col. 1. p. 31.

[2] Forbearance of Penalties. by H. Thorndike. ch. viii. p. 38. Lond. 1670.

thus long and miserably suffers."[1] [2] But this is the grand mystery of Jesuitism and politic Popery at this day, to look upon all moderate counsels as pernicious and destructive.

An Answer to that common Calumny of the Separatists, that our Governors in the Church of England have more peace and reconciliation for Papists, than for the most moderate Protestant Dissenters.

9. The design of Peace is generally applauded by all: and indeed it is so excellent an undertaking, it seems a great pity that any endeavours for it should at any time be blasted with suspicion, misconstruction, and ill success. And whereas some have objected against us, that we are ready to choose pacification with the Romish rather than with the Protestant Dissenter, we answer, in general, with respect to both: that true Christianity requires us to be enemies to no one; if any will be to us, and to truth, the blame must lie at their door who give the just cause. If any require plainly sinful conditions, indispensable to hold Communion with them, in such a case the command holds good, "Come out from among them, and be ye separate." The reason why, in disputation, reconciliation with the Romanists hath upon such terms mentioned been spoken of, is because they are they who have laid the obstruction to all union by their enormous corruptions, and it lies upon them to remove the obstruction: and no wonder if they be called on so to do: and who will not consent to that (however hopeless) desire? if they will lay aside their corruptions, we may be all one sheepfold under one shepherd, Christ Jesus. Concerning such projects of reconciliation with the Church of Rome, which have been made long since by some of the most moderate of their own communion, and some other learned men amongst Protestants, of which Cassander's Consultation,[3] with Grotius's Annotations also thereon, are most common and famous: of these this may safely be said, (whether and to what degree their designs be approved or condemned, however,) they have given abundant proofs, wherein the Church of Rome at present appears the more irreconcileable, the more she is opposite to all such terms of reconciliation which they have discoursed.

[2 Cor. vi. 17.]

[1] "Resolutions of Relig." in Bp. Hall's Remaining Works. Lond. 1660.

[2] Casaubon (Meric) "Necessity of Reformation," &c. p. 147. Lond. 1664.

[3] Ergo isti pii et pacifici viri necessario sunt omnes ficti et simulati, aliud ore profitentes, aliud in corde celantes, &c.

C. Bellarm. de Laicis, lib. iii. cap. xix. col. 350. Col. Agr. 1620. tom. ii.

If some other discourses have been at any time made by any of our Communion, referring to such reconciliation with some Romanists, they may be looked upon only as such suppositions as have been among learned men generally discoursed, thereby the more clearly to shew the unreasonableness of the Romish rigours. But whatever may be proposed as a mere speculation, the vanity of concluding upon any such union as likely may appear from the principles of the Church of Rome; which are such, if we take away her corruptions, we take away Popery itself. Yet it must be acknowledged, the art of the Romanist, even in such seeming concessions, is very notorious, to gain such points for themselves, as may serve their present turns, and may make afterward for the confirmation of their own rigours. But, (whatsoever some few among them promise,) what should be consented to by them, is like an agreement made by a Minor, which is void, as the Tutor and Governor shall please: for we know, not only what the nature of their gifts are, but also how they receive and return concessions and indulgences: wherefore, such Proposals from any of our Communion are the more needless, because the principles of our Reformation are already too prudent and moderate.

As to some who have suspected an inclination in those of our communion, to pacification rather with the Romanists than with them: we answer, This is the nature of emulous parties to be always thus jealous of any sorts of communication with their adversaries: but so long as the Romanists and Sectaries have had the same kind of jealousy of the same sorts of persons, it is but a good proof of the real moderation of our Church, and of those of her communion, in opposition to all undue extremes. Neither ought it to be interpreted indifference, neutrality and lukewarmness, but impartial constancy to such truth as is espoused for her own sake. Sometime their jealousy hath been raised of design to make the indiscreet sort of men among us, the more out of charity with our Church: notwithstanding it will be made out, (ch. xvii. § 7.) that those who conform to the Church of England, do not agree with the Papists so really as our Dissenters do. Our dissenting Brethren often forget what hath been performed by our Church in opposition to the Romish corruptions and

errors, and also for the sake of themselves: they forget how often their jealousies have proved groundless and untrue: and it would do well, for the time to come, if the sincere among them would set down, in some place by itself, such jealousies of theirs; and in the next column, over against, would remark their own frequent mistakes. Such forget also, or seem never to have known, how our Reformation hath been approved of by the best Protestants: and whereas they seem to pity the first Reformers, as men but half so much enlightened as themselves, who look upon the Moderation of our Church, but proportionable to the first crepuscular and duskish light of those times; in this matter they speak like those who have received some Traditions at second-hand from Cartwright, but never compared his writings with Archbishop Whitgift: and as they do not seem to consider the full knowledge and consideration which our Reformers had of the principles and abuses of Popery; and the diligent eye they had also to such other Reformations, as before ours had their perfection; so they do not consider that our present Establishment was constituted with respect to our Protestants of the greatest aversation from Rome.

It is much to be feared, that those that clamour most of us for pacification with the Romanists, so little understand what they would have, that because the Romanists hold (as Mr. Perkins[1] sheweth) "the same necessary Heads of Religion with" us, they seem willing and contented we should renounce sundry Articles of our Creed, that we may be sure not to agree with them. And this is spoken upon good grounds, for many of our Protestant Dissenters, as they are called, do, (as it is too well known,) not by consequence only, but in direct terms, deny many, (I may say of these few,) first fundamental verities of common Christianity, as, it is a sad thing to say, it may be shewn at large: and yet nevertheless, what kindness, what friendship, what correspondence is practised and encouraged by them daily with these friends, who are less suspected or reviled, than the true and firm Protestants of the Church of England.

And whereas they commonly say, That the Church of

[1] Preface to "Reformed Catholic." Lond. 1626. vol. i.

England, and the chief of her communion, are unwilling to allow any pacification with, or concessions to Protestant Dissenters, as may be reasonable for public concord; we answer, they are utterly mistaken in saying so; for beside that, the conditions of communion with our Church are very equal and just, we may presume to say also, from what our Church hath done, and hath declared she is willing to do; and from the disposition of her Communion, there is no doubt but our Church would gladly (in such things as she might) remit of what she judgeth otherwise expedient, for the ends of peace and universal concord, if she could be assured any reasonable concessions should have that effect, as might suit with the true honour of God, and the real good of the Church.

Uniformity in religious and ecclesiastical matters, sure, is so excellent and desirable a gain, that certainly an establishment somewhat less perfect, with "being of the same mind so far as we have attained," and with a regular and effectual observation of good laws, is more expetible, than an appointment, in some circumstances more perfect, without the same uniform order and peace therewith. But how unequal is it, that they should be the only arbiters and judges of union, who not only are great authors of our dissension, but are at such great disagreements among themselves, (ch. xviii. § 2. Rule 10.) and are so imperious and tyrannical in their disobedience, as some of them are!

[Philipp. iii. 16.]

CHAPTER XV.

OF THE MODERATION OF THE CHURCH TOWARD OTHER CHURCHES AND PROFESSIONS OF MEN.

In that Universal Concord which our Church hath maintained with all, so far as lawfully and usefully it may.

1. The excellent temper of our church is abundantly justified in that universal concord and friendship it desires to maintain with all, so far as may be done lawfully. Our church separates indeed as far as is possible, from all that is vile and impure, making herself (as is the Church) a society distinct from Jews and Gentiles; and by her censures doth separate from those that are inordinate: and in her own defence keeps herself from complying with sinful and unjust conditions of Communion: yet with the whole Church throughout the world, and every part thereof to whom her Communion is not displeasing, our Church in desire and endeavour, doth maintain all inward and outward agreement she can;[1] in affections and behaviour also so approving herself, that it is manifest she unwillingly differs from any, and no more than needs must. Thus the thirtieth Canon of our Church; "Nay so far was it from the purpose of the Church of England to forsake and reject the Church [es] of Italy, France, Spain, Germany, or any such like Churches, in all things which they held and practised, that, as the Apology of the Church of England confesseth, it doth with reverence retain those ceremonies, which do neither endamage the Church of God, nor offend the minds of sober men; and only departed from them in those [particular] points wherein they were fallen both from themselves in their ancient integrity, and from the apostolical Churches, which were their first founders.

[1] Odia restringi, favores convenit ampliari. Reg. Juris.

"Episcopal divines," saith Bishop Bramhall,[1] "do not deny those [Churches] to be true Churches where[in] salvation may be had."

Her protesting against unsufferable Abuses, well consisting with her Moderation and Charity.

2. Neither did our Church of England ever yet oppose itself to any lawful ecclesiastical authority, which yet is inseparably of the essence of schism; but on the contrary, according to a singular moderation,[2] and charity, it doth open its bosom to every genuine son of the true Catholic Church, of what denomination soever. For it is one thing for any to frame to themselves a diverse congregation and religion, separate from and opposite to the universal Church, as anciently did the Donatists; and another thing not to communicate with some particular persons and places in some unwarrantable usages, and that under express protestation; (from whence was occasioned the moderate and innocent title of *Protestants*;[3] for protesting against the edict at Worms, which was for restoring all things as they were without Reformation:) by which protestation, all scandal of schism is taken away, and desire of reconciliation is publicly testified, not as of absolute necessity, but for the sake of catholic unity, by which protestation, a right is vindicated from the usurpation of the Church of Rome, who fondly calls herself, not only Catholic, but the Mother and Mistress of all other Churches, by which she makes herself a public invader of common ecclesiastical right.

Our Church leaveth other Churches to the use of their liberty, and vindicateth that use mutually.

3. In matters of ecclesiastical freedom, the church of England leaves always other churches to their liberty, and vindicates their right to the same;[4] as other Reformed churches leave us to our liberty, and vindicate the same.

[1] Vindication of Grotius, &c. p. 614. Dubl. 1676.

[2] Ecclesia Britannica, qua est perpetuo in omnes Christianos singulari moderatione et Christiana dilectione, &c.
De antiq. lib. Eccl. Brit. Thes. 4.

[3] [Hinc ortum pervulgatum illud *Protestantium* nomen.]
Calvisii Chron. p. 491. Lips. 1605.

[4] Dr. Durell's View of the Reformed Churches. Lond. 1662. p. 103.

(Article xxxiv.) "It is not necessary that traditions and ceremonies be in all places one, or utterly like; for at all times they have been diverse, and may be changed according to the diversities of countries,[1] times, and [men's] manners. —Every particular [or] national Church, hath authority to ordain, change, and abolish ceremonies or rites of the Church."[2] "In these our doings, we condemn no other nations, nor prescribe any thing but to our own people only:" according to the practice of St. Cyprian, (clearing himself to the African Bishops,) "Judging none, nor removing any from the right of communion, if they think somewhat diverse from us." For which St. Austin[3] commends St. Cyprian: and as Tully[4] spake of himself, with relation to Cæsar; "I so dissented from him, that in the difference of our opinion, however we remained entire in our friendship."

Of this mind also was St. Austin, in matters of different observances, as to times of fasting, and days of communicating; "All this," saith he, "is matter of liberty; and no practice is more worthy a grave and prudent Christian, than to act so as he sees the Church doth, unto which it happens he comes; and as the society doth in which he lives:[5] and in these matters, of which the Holy Scripture appoints nothing expressly, the custom of the people of God, and the institutes of our superiors are to be held for a law; of which if we have a list to dispute, and to disprove others for their different custom, there will arise endless contests."

[1] v. Homily of Fasting.

Distant inter se linguæ, sed linguarum distantiæ non sunt Schismata, omnes linguæ ad unam fidem. St. Aug. in Joan.

[The sentiment, though not the precise words, of the above quotation, is to be found in August. Sermons on Pentecost, cclxvii. cclxxii. tom. v. col. 1089. 1091. 1093. 1101. 1103. Par. 1679—1700.]

[2] Pref. of Cerem.

[3] Cujus charitas non solum illius temporis Christianis sed etiam posteris ad medicinalem notitiam signatur.

Aug. op Par. 1679–1700. de Bapt. lib. i. 28. Tom. ix. col. 94.

[4] Ita dissensi ab illo ut in disjunctione sententiæ, conjuncti tamen amicitia maneremus. M. T. Cic. orat. pro provinc. Consul.

[5] S. Aug. Ep. 118. and Ep. 86.

M. Amyrald[1] well observes the friendly moderation of the English and French Protestants; when they are in each others' countries, they readily join themselves with the communion of the Churches they are in.

Yet such is the abundant moderation of our Church, that to merchants and strangers of other Churches, are permitted their several congregations and churches: and, all aliens of the Reformation have, by Act of Uniformity, an express provision made for their enjoyment of their own way of worship, at the pleasure of his Majesty: which is real proof that conformity doth not prejudice trade.[2] [3] And this tender care of other Churches' liberty, which the Church of England with great moderation doth profess, other reformed Churches generally return to us; which the thirtieth Canon refers to, where it saith, "This resolution and practice of our church," —namely, not to forsake and reject other Churches, only as they depart from the apostolical Churches; particularly with relation to the use of the cross in baptism,—"hath been allowed and approved by the censure on the Common Prayer Book[4] in King Edward the Sixth [his] days, and by the Harmony of Confessions of later years." And it was King James his advice to his divines, to hold a good correspondence with the neighbour reformed Churches: but, saith the King, [5]"I am resolved to leave other Churches to their

[1] Quamobrem et Galli e nostris qui in Anglia versantur, si linguam Anglicam callent, Anglorum cœtibus libentissime intersunt, et Eucharistiam ex eorum more participant, et Episcopis sese subjiciunt, quantum id Ecclesiæ pax et ædificatio postulat. Angli vero, qui inter nos in Gallia peregrinantur, pariter sese moribus, institutis, disciplinæ legibus, et cæremoniis nostris accommodant, ut suam pietatem et utriusque Ecclesiæ consensionem testificentur.

M. Amyraldi Εφηνικον. Salmur. 1662. p. 351.

[2] v. Mod. Pleas for Comprehen. answered, p. 210.

[3] Omnibus notum est quam clementer patiantur peregrinorum Ecclesias Ceremoniis et ritibus uti diversis ab Anglicana Ecclesia.

Saravia. de div. grad. Min. cap. 24.

[4] "*Communion Book.*" Constit. and Can. 1603.

Dr. Cardwell's Synodalia. vol. i. p. 263.

[5] v. in Apol. Ep. Lectori. "Non est mihi ingenium in aliena republica curiosum."

Mihi enim alioqui est decretissimum, rebus alienis me non immiscere; sed alias Reformatæ Religionis Ecclesias Christianæ suæ libertati permittere.

Reg. Jacobi Opera. p. 349. fol. Lond. 1619.

liberty." And so also King Charles I., [1]" As I am no judge over the reformed churches, so neither do I censure them."

Her especial moderation and charity toward the Greek Church.

4. As a special note of our Church's moderation, we must not forbear to instance her excellent behaviour and charity toward the afflicted Greek Church; to whom, as she hath opportunity, she hath testified a great commiseration, a most pious affection, and a great esteem: see the Homily against the peril of Idolatry, wherein our Church doth frequently deplore the thraldom of the noble empire of Greece to the Turk. "I must needs profess," said Archbishop Laud,[2] "that I wish heartily, (as well as others,) that those distressed men—had been more moderately dealt with, (though they think diversely from us,) than they have been by the Church of Rome," C. Bellarmine having delivered that three of their Councils have declared her guilty of heresy. "Let the Church of Rome answer for herself if she can, for her trampling upon the poor Greek Church, as she lies in the dust; and branding her with heresy for her doctrine of [the] Procession, as cruelly as her Turkish masters burn their half moons on the bodies of those whom they enslave: But our Church is not so uncharitable as to define it a heresy for any to maintain, That the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father by the Son, though we maintain [also with good reason] as great a truth, that the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father and the Son; but this makes no breach of communion among us, the difference only arising from inadequation of languages, which notwithstanding we agree in the main of this Article.[3] Such, lastly, is the moderation of our church toward the Greek Church, that some of the Greek Bishops and Priests are allowed among us, the celebrating holy mysteries according to their own rites.[4]

[1] His Majesty's third Paper to Mr. Henderson. Lond. 1649.

[2] Ut videant hi qui facile de hæresi pronuntiant, quam facile etiam ipsi errent; et intelligant, non esse tam leviter de hæresi pronuntiandum.
Alph. à Castro. Contr. Hær. lib. iii. fol. 93.

Laud's (W.) Relation of Conference, &c. Lond. 1639. p. 26.

[3] Animadversions on Naked Truth. p. 7.

[4] In una fide nihil officit sanctæ Ecclesiæ consuetudo diversa.
Greg. op. Par. 1705. tom. ii. Ep. xliii. col. 532.

5. Other Churches have not been by the Church of England despised, if in sundry instances they have not arrived unto her perfection in purity of doctrine, and order of discipline. With other churches she doth not contend for title, or understanding of mysteries; nor boasts of the Spirit; nor calls herself, in distinction from other true Churches, the Catholic Church, as of old the Arians did. Lastly, the guides of our church never challenged to themselves Infallibility.

Our church's modesty and well-becoming behaviour toward other Churches; and their mutual affection unto ours.

Although our Church of England hath had the peculiar happiness of a Monarchical Reformation, and retains the blessing of episcopal government, yet such is the moderation of our church, she imputes the want of the same, in other Reformed Churches, not so much to any fault of those Churches themselves, but rather attributes it to the injury of the times.[1]

Our Church also thankfully commemorates those acknowledgments which the Reformed Churches have frequently made of our moderation and happy constitution. And although we remember when it was commonly objected to us, that the Pastors of the Reformed Churches abroad, took our Conformity to be a sin; sure, the useful labour of Dr. Jo. Durell hath for ever silenced that vain reproach, who to the whole world, in plain and open testimonies hath now long since [2]illustrated the conformity of the Reformed Churches abroad, to our Church of England, in matters of ceremony; subordination of pastors; use of set forms and liturgy: holy-days; set times of fasting; magnificent churches, organs, surplice, church-ornaments, cross in baptism, receiving the Communion kneeling, &c. Who hath also proved by testimonies the practice of those of the

[1] Quæris tum peccentne in jus divinum Ecclesiæ vestræ? Non dixi. Id tantum dixi, abesse ab Ecclesiis vestris aliquid, quod de jure divino sit; culpa autem vestra non abesse, sed injuria temporum.

Lanc. Andrews Ep. Winton. Epist. iii. Molinæo Opusc. Lond. 1629. p. 195.

Eos coegerit dura necessitas. Saravia.

[2] ["Government of Reformed Churches." v. Table of Contents. Lond. 1662.]

Reformed Churches joining with us, in our public worship, by the advice of their Pastors; either when they come over into England, or in such of our congregations as are in their countries.

If it happens that any member of the Reformed Churches speak against the Reformed Church of England, he is censured for it by their Synod.

The Ministers of the Reformed Churches abroad, blame those that refuse to conform to the Church of England, when occasion is offered, and hold them for schismatics, and are scandalized at them.

Those few Reformed Churches which want subordination of ministers approve the episcopacy of the Church of England,[1] and wish they had the same, and would esteem it a singular felicity.

All which sheweth the amity and good correspondence and concord that is between our Church of England, and other Protestant Churches: and also justifies exceedingly the excellent moderation of our church.

"Indeed our Church of England deserves better the name of Catholic, both for her catholic charity, and especially for that she maintains her communion upon the foundations and principles of Christian Religion, both with the western and eastern Churches, whom the Church of Rome excommunicates from the society of the mystical body of Christ, limiting the Church to Rome, and such places as depend upon it. "As the Donatists did of old to Afric:—— separating herself also from the communion of the Churches of Græcia, Russia, Armenia, and all the Protestant Churches."—Much greater is her schism, for "refusing to be a fellow-member with other churches in the [body of the] universal Church" of Christ; "and challenging to be the head, the root, the fountain of all other churches."[2]

[1] Certum est mihi Λειτουργίαν Anglicanam, item morem imponendi manus adolescentibus in Baptismi memoriam, autoritatem Episcoporum, Presbyteria ex solis Pastoribus composita, multaque alta ejusmodi satis congruere institutis vetustioris Ecclesiæ; a quibus in Gallia et Belgio recessum negare non possumus. Grotius Boet. Ep. lxii. Amst. 1687.

[2] Bp. Bramhall's Works. Dubl. 1676. p. 991.

[1] Yet because they still keep to the main fundamentals, we do not exclude them from the Catholic Church, though by their hard and rigid censures, and excommunication of us and others that do not hold with them, they do very much hazard their right and title to the said Catholic Church, as much as by any thing."

[1] Casaubon's (Meric) Neces. of Reformation. p. 145. Lond. 1664.

CHAPTER XVI.

OF THE MODERATION OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND IN HER REFORMATION.

The Reformation of our Church, as it had just grounds, and was by just Authority, so it was managed with due Moderation; the idea of our Reformation having been impartial.

1. THE moderate and orderly Reformation of the Church of England Bishop Bramhall well calls the "terror and eye-sore of Rome,"[1] because of three conditions of a lawful Reformation well agreeing thereto; viz., "just grounds; sufficient authority; due moderation."

1. *Just Grounds:* under which head I shall not take too large a compass to illustrate the moderation of our Reformation, either from the manifold usurpations and corruptions of the Church of Rome at that time; nor from the invidious task of looking into the extreme rigours of any other models of Reformation: neither is it here necessary to reflect more particularly on matters of fact historically relating hereunto, which have been copiously set forth by a multitude of writers, both ecclesiastical and civil, which abundantly justify this Reformation both in its causes and proceedings, clearly manifesting how this Church was justified therein, from the unjust conditions of communion which the Church of Rome peremptorily insisted upon.

2. That it might have *just authority*, the said Reformation was managed by the guides and governors of the Church, and was confirmed by supreme authority, and so in every particular was as legal as any Reformation could or ought to be; as doth sufficiently appear from matter of fact recounted in the histories and monuments thereof; "wherein the princes" acted "their parts, and the Clergy theirs;" they "calling together the Bishops and others of the Clergy to consider of what might seem worthy Reformation: and the

[1] Answer to the Bp. of Chalcedon. p. 216.

Clergy did their part;" for being called together by regal power, they met in a national synod of sixty-two, and the Articles were agreed on, "and were afterward confirmed by Acts of State, and [the] Royal Assent."[1]

Any Reformation otherwise than regular is as much against the principles of our Church as any one can wish; and had the doctrine of our Homilies been well regarded, it might have prevented much mischief consequent on later Reformations; "lest any persons, upon colour of destroying images, make any stir or disturbance in the commonwealth, it must always be remembered, that the redress of such public enormities pertaineth to the magistrates, and such as are in authority, and not to private persons."[2]

In the Homilies against wilful Rebellion, is set forth at large the sufficient reason of our Church's Reformation, viz. the intolerable usurpations of the Bishop of Rome. To the same purpose the Apology of the Church of England, doth express itself more largely than need be repeated; we did nothing rashly or insolently, for the sake of any worldly pleasure or advantage, but upon great advice and deliberation we shook off a yoke which we had no obligation to endure.[3] The Church of England did but behave herself as became a free Church, enjoying the rights of a patriarchal See: according to the rules of the universal Church it reformed itself, when it had high need: for as King Henry the Eighth said, in his last letter to the Pope, Better is it in the middle way to return, than always to run forth headlong and do ill.[4]

3. The *due moderation* of our Reformation will appear, if we consider; The idea or form of our Reformation was

[1] Abp. Laud against Fisher. § 24. Lond. 1639.

[2] [Hom. agt. Peril of Idol. Pt. i.]

Angli ab ea, necessitate dira cogente, secessionem fecerunt.
Is. Casaub. ad Card. Perr. Lond. 1612. p. 23.

[3] Episcopi vero Romani (cui obstricti non eramus, quique nihil habebat nec Christi, nec Petri, nec Apostoli, nec omnino Episcopi simile) jugum et tyrannidem, pro eo ac debuimus, excussisse.
p. 175. Apol. Eccl. Angl. Cantabr. 1683.

[4] [Bp. Burnet's Hist. of the Ref. Lond. 1679. Pt. i. Coll. of Records. Bk. ii. xlii.]

neither taken from Luther nor Calvin, (as the Romanists love to speak of us,[1]) nor from any other, but from the Holy Scriptures, according to the use of the primitive Church; which were only its measures: according to which, our Church practised the part of the elective philosopher, and chose what she thought most agreeable; among the rest she seemeth to come nearest the Augustan Confession[2] of Herman, Archbishop of Colon; which was also set forth in English, 1548.

"Among others that have reformed their Churches, I have often," saith Saravia, "admired the wisdom of those who restored the true worship of God in the Church of England, who so tempered themselves, that they cannot be reproved for having departed from the ancient and primitive custom of the Church of God: and that moderation they have used, that by their example they have invited others to reform, and deterred none."[3]

[4] Between those who were "loth to bid adieu to their ceremonies," and others whose "Reformation had no bounds," "our godly Reformers" compiled the excellent model of our liturgy in so moderate and well tempered a mode, as neither part had just cause to think themselves

[1] Impia mysteria et instituta ad Calvini præscriptum.
Bulla Pii V. cont. R. Eliz. (Thos. Barlow's Brutum Fulmen. Lond. 1681. p. 3.)

Quam postea proficiens in pejus Edvardus sextus, sustulit, et pro ea Calvinicas, aliquot deprecationes substituit.
Nic. Sander. de Schism. Angl. p. 165.

Atque ratio hæc et assertio locum habet, etiam in illis Angliæ legibus, quæ alios actus sacrilegos ut participationem Calvinianæ cœnæ, et similes communicationes cum hæreticis in eorum ritibus et synagogis præcipiunt.
Suarii. Def. Fid. Cathol. lib. vi. c. 11. p. 770. Conimb. 1613.

[2] [Syntagma Confess. August. Bp. Burnet. art. xi. Pt. i. p. 255.]

[3] Inter cæteros qui reformarunt ecclesias, sæpe miratus sum sapientiam eorum qui Anglicanæ ecclesiæ restituerunt verum Dei cultum; et ita se attemperarunt ut nusquam decessisse ab antiqua et prisca ecclesia consuetudine reprehendi possunt. Ea moderatione usi sunt, ut vicinos a reformatione non deterruerint, sed magis suo exemplo invitaverint.
Sarav. Defens. Lectori Præf. Lond. 1594.

[4] Ea omnia sublata sunt quæ nimium onerosa et operosa sunt.
Lud. Capel. inter Thes. Salmur. 6.

aggrieved:[1] so that the Church of England appears faithfully to have practised the same counsel which P. Gregory the Great gave unto Austin the Monk, when he was sent over into England. "From all churches choose whatsoever things are pious and religious, whatsoever things are right; and being gathered into one bundle, commend them to the minds of the English for their use."[2]

For having laid their ground, that "Holy Scripture containeth all things necessary to salvation, [3](Art. vi.) they do upon that basis establish the doctrine of the three Creeds:[4] and that the Romish doctrine of purgatory, pardons, worshipping and adoration of relics, invocation of saints, &c., is not warranted by Scripture, (Art. xxii.) and then proceed to settle such other things as are of positive right, with so just a moderation as is hardly elsewhere to be found; changing nothing for the general, but where the practice of their own ancestors did justify their doings, without at all extending themselves to anything where they had not antiquity their warrant."[5]

[1] Hamon L'Estrange's Alliance of Div. off. c. i. p. 29. Lond. 1659.

[2] Ex singulis ergo quibusque Ecclesiis quæ pia, quæ religiosa, quæ recta sunt, elige; et hæc quasi in fasciculum collecta, apud Anglorum mentes in consuetudinem depone.

S. Greg. op. Par. 1705. tom. ii. Epist. ex Regist. col. 1152.

[3] Huic basi Reformationem Britannicam niti voluerit; ut Scripturis primæ, deinde primorum sæculorum Episcopis, Martyribus, Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis secundæ deferrentur.

H. Hammond cont. D. Blondell. Dissert. prima procem. c. xiv. § 13. p. 50. Lond. 1651.

[4] [They rejoiced to see the Scriptures and the ancient Creeds made the standards of the Faith, without mentioning Tradition, or the Decrees of the Church.] Burnet's Hist. of Reform. vol. i. lib. iii. p. 218. Lond. 1681.

Twisden's Historical Vindic. of Ch. of Eng. c. 9. p. 186. Lond. 1657.

[5] Quod si me conjectura non fallit, totius reformationis pars integerrima est in Anglia, ubi cum studio veritatis viget studium antiquitatis, &c.

Is. Casaub. ad Salmas. Epist. 837. p. 489. Roterod. 1709.

Quæ autem pro pace hac Christiana hactenus dicta sunt, non eo trahi velim, ut inde arripiatur occasio deserendi Ecclesias quas Reformatas vocant, præsertim Britannicas: Anglicanam intelligo omnium Reformatarum reformatissimam, earundemque gloriam, ad effigiem nempe primæ suæ Reformationis effictam, et usque ad nuperas turbas omnia pessundantes, et πανωλεθρίαν secum ferentes, florentem, una cum Scoticana, prout Anglicanæ conformari cœpit.

Gul. Forbesii. Consid. Modest. Pref. Lond. 1657.

"Can" we "choose," saith Bishop Hall, "but observe the blessing of monarchical reformation amongst us, beyond that popular and tumultuous reformation amongst our neighbours? our's a council, their's an uproar: our's beginning from the head, their's from the feet: our's proceeding in due order, their's in confusion: our's countenancing and encouraging the converted governors of the Church, their's extremely overawed with averse power, or totally overborne with foul sacrilege: in a word, our's yielding what the true and happy condition of a Church required, their's hand-over-head taking what they could get for the present."[1]

The whole manner of it (so far as concerned our Church) was with great temper.

2. The manner of our Reformation was such as might reasonably both justify our church, and leave the church of Rome most inexcusable in the judgment of the whole Catholic Church of Christ; our church condemning those she left no more than needs must; and, as Dr. More saith, "courting the adverse party to all lawful accommodations, if by any means she may gain some:" "attempering herself to the occasion of the time,"[2] as our church's phrase is in her Homily. [3]From whence was manifest our church's freedom from prejudice and passion, and the humour of innovation, or the spirit of contradiction; our church not dividing but upon necessity, and then using all lawful and good means to procure such an agreement only, as might consist with the good consciences of her people: wherefore that the breach might seem no greater than indeed it is, and that all probable pretences of offence, as they call it, might be taken away, was omitted that Suffrage in the Litany, "From the tyranny of the Bishop of Rome, and all his detestable enormities, good Lord, deliver us." Which moderations in our church, (and in other Reformed Churches the like,[4]) have left the Roman-

[1] Of Episcopacy by Divine Right. § 5. p. 21. Lond. 1640.

[2] Homily for Rogation Wk. pt. iii.

[3] vid. Cromwell's Letter to the Bishop of Landaff, directing him how to proceed in the Reformation.
Collect. of Records. Bp. Burnet's Hist. of Ref. vol. i. lib. iii. p. 183. Lond. 1681.

[4] [I know likewise that Smectymnus holds the alterations made in the Liturgy, under the reign of Queen Elizabeth, specially the taking out of the

ists the more inexcusable in their dissent; especially since, as Camden and others relate, in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth, for about ten years, (for at least eighteen years, saith the Lord Coke,) few of the Popish Recusants absented themselves from our churches, till Pope Pius the Fifth, by his interdictory Bull, would have all communion with us renounced: for "as long as schismatics are not hardened into obstinacy, there is a prudential latitude allowed by the Church, delaying her censures as long as possibly she can, without wronging her government; as was, de facto, practised in England till the tenth" year "of Queen Elizabeth."[1] And admit that Pope Paul the Fourth, in his private letters to Queen Elizabeth, did offer to confirm our Liturgy, if she would acknowledge his Primacy, and the Reformation derived from him; and that the same proposal was confirmed by his successor, Pius the Fourth, (though it had caused sundry ignorant and peevish complaints); it ought to be no imputation to us, since our Reformation, blessed be God, is so good and justifiable: insomuch that the Presbyterian Brethren acknowledged,[2] "Our first Reformers, in great wisdom, did at that time so compose the Liturgy, as to win upon the Papists." What was reformed and composed in such great wisdom then, is the same still: the inference therefore which may be made, is what Bishop Davenant resolved: "The Papists are bound to be present at the English Divine Service, because nothing occurs therein that can be by themselves reproved." And if Papists, much more Protestants: and we rather suppose it the great glory and excellent commendation of our Reformation, that it is at once so complete, and also so moderate; considering how difficult a thing it is, especially in matter of reforming, to pare off the excess, and not to cut to the quick; to stay at the right point and not overdo, because of the liableness in such cases, in declining one extreme to fall into

Litany the one suffrage, "From the Bishop of Rome and all his detestable enormities, good Lord deliver us," which was in the First and Second Book of King Edward,) not for "ineptia tolerabilis," but for a great and intolerable trespass.]

J. Durell's Reformed Churches, p. 180. Lond. 1662.

[1] Schism guarded. [Bp. Bramhall's Works. p. 396.]

[2] Grand Debate. p. 3.

another,[1] which usually is the fault of the unwise, and the inconsiderate. For as the matters in Religion, in which our utmost Zeal is required, are unquestionably evident to every Christian man's notice, so the cases in which Moderation is to be exercised, are almost infinite, and often very intricate: wherefore the use of this virtue is so universal, that as the truest fortitude is governed by temperance, so where there is most moderation, there is the truest zeal; and (which is a better effect than usually is of sudden calentures) by moderation the mind is best prepared to find out and determine those proportions and measures which are to be observed for the right conduct of ourselves and others, in our moral and religious concerns. Such operations suppose also a peculiar power and ability of the understanding, and a most excellent prudence: wherefore the wise King said, "A man of understanding is of an excellent spirit," where the Hebrew phrase is observed to signify also a cool spirit or temper, that being the most excellent disposition to wisdom. Thus in the Life of Pomponius Atticus, it was said of him, "His Moderation gave him great security in troublesome times, procured him friends, kept him considerate and circumspect in all he did, that he never overshot himself with folly, passion, and precipitancy in words and action." The like virtue hath been the great happiness of our Church of England, especially conspicuous in her first Reformation; and thus according to an excellent moderation our Church doth express itself, "And for this ought we greatly to praise God, for that such superstitious and idolatrous manners as were utterly naught, and defaced God's glory, are utterly abolished, as they most justly deserved; and yet those things that either God was honoured with, or his people edified by, are decently retained, and in our Church comely practised."[2]

Prov. xvii. 27.

"And certainly, were that spirit of charity stirring" among "them" (the Romanists) "which ought to be, they would love and honour us [even] for the resemblance of that" (primitive) "Church, the beauty of which" they "so much admire."[3]

[1] ἀμετρία τῆς ἀνθολκῆς. S. Basil.
[2] Homily of Place and Time of Prayer, pt. ii.
[3] Hales's Sermon of Erring Christians. vol. ii. p. 101. Glasg. 1765.

3. It is evident that our Church hath separated from their errors, and not from their persons,[1] any more than needs must, such errors, I mean, the belief of which the Church of Rome hath made necessary to salvation: in consideration of which Mr. Hales, in his sermon "of dealing with erring Christians," saith, He may not pass by that singular moderation of this Church of ours, which she hath most christianly expressed toward her adversaries of Rome here at home in her bosom, above all the Reformed Churches I have read of (and so forth at large). In which communication, what if the Protestants call the Romanists sometimes Catholics, because they call themselves so? for as it is in the answer to the Bishop of Condom, "These gentlemen do herein like Princes, who always retain the title to countries which they have lost several ages past;" since our Saviour called the Scribes and Pharisees Builders, upon the same reason, when he saith, "the stone which the builders refused." Matt. xxi. 42.

She separated from the Romish errors, not from their Persons any more than needs must.

4. Such is the moderation of those of our communion, we think not ourselves obliged to deny a possibility of salvation to such as are sincere and otherwise good of the church of Rome, notwithstanding they are so uncharitable to deny heaven to any of us who hold stedfast communion with the church of England; for which we are accounted no others than damned heretics; and therefore once a year, every Maunday Thursday, the Pope curseth all whom he denounceth Heretics; and that his Christianity therein may be the more known, the form by which we are excommunicated is known by the name of "the Bull of the Supper of the Lord." Even so Justin Martyr tells us the Jews[2] used to curse in their synagogues all Christians: yea, the very form of the Bishop's oath at their consecration in the Romish Church obligeth them expressly to persecute whom they account heretics.[3] "Were there nothing else [to be] objected

Our charity exceeds that of the church of Rome, which denies Salvation to all who are not of her communion.

[1] Noli propter hominem diligere vitia, nec propter vitium odisse homines. Aug. op. Par. 1679–1700. De temp. Serm. xlix. 5. tom. v. col. 273.

[2] Καταρώμενοι ἐν ταῖς συναγωγαῖς ὑμῶν τοὺς πιστεύοντας ἐπὶ τὸν Χριστον. Just. Mart. Dial. cum Tryphone. p. 50. Lond. 1719.

[3] Hæreticos, schismaticos, et rebelles eidem Domino nostro vel successoribus prædictis pro posse persequar, &c. Pontificale Roman. p. 65.

to Papists but this one thing, their uncharitable proscribing, and excommunicating [of] all Christians, in all parts of the world, who are not of their communion; and obliging all that adhere unto them to profess the same, I should think that one thing a just ground of separation, or forsaking of their communion."[1] Nevertheless, at the same time we pray most solemnly "for all that persecute and slander us," yea, "for all that have erred[2] and are deceived, that they may be led into the way of truth." Yet such is the moderation of our Church, she doth not in the Good Friday prayer join the Papists with Jews, Turks, Infidels, and Heretics; but prayeth for the whole "family" for whom Christ died: "for all estates of God's Church everywhere: and that we may be made one fold under one Shepherd, Jesus Christ our Lord." And although the Romanists say we cannot be saved, we Protestants say they may; (for we know not the possibility of their repentance, or the extents of the mercies of God;) but from thence to argue that theirs is the safest religion, is so slight an argument, drawn only from the greater want of charity in them,—that I wonder so many of our Protestant writers of great name, do it so much honour to answer it; but only that the slightest arguments prevail most with those that use most slight consideration.

The preparation of our Church to submit to the Church Universal saves us from Schism.

5. That which saves us from all danger of schism is, we profess such a preparation of mind, always to believe and do whatever the true Catholic Church of God believes and judgeth requisite to be done by Christian men; as King James answered for the church of England, that she hath not departed from the faith of the ancient Church, which she honours and embraceth; neither hath she divided so much as from the faith of the Roman Church, so far forth as that agrees with the primitive Church. Thus the moderate and peaceable Bishop Hall[3] professeth; that since for order-sake we acknowledged the primacy of the Western Church, we never

[1] Casaubon's (Meric) Necess. of Reformation. p. 141. Lond. 1664.

[2] Ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν, καὶ ὑπὲρ πάντων ἁπλῶς ἀνθρώπων τῶν ἐχθραινόντων ἡμῖν εὐχόμεθα. Just. Mart. Dial. cum Tryphone. p. 385. Lond. 1719.

[3] Bp. Hall's "Remaining Works." Lond. 1660. p. 309. Ep. to Mr. Struthers.

departed one inch from the Roman, save where she is perfidiously gone from God and herself. And I doubt not but all sober men of the Church of England will profess as Zanchy[1] did, like a true Reformed Catholic, "we have not divided from the Church of Rome simply in all things, but in those things only in which it hath separated from the Apostolical Church; and indeed from itself as it was ancient and pure; neither have we departed with any other purpose, than if she will return amended to its primitive form, we also will return to her, that we may have communion with her in her assemblies: which that once it may be, with all our hearts we beseech Christ Jesus. I Hierom Zanchy, aged seventy years, with all my family, have this testified to the whole Church of Christ to all eternity."

For we left them "as one should leave his father's house when it is infected," "with a hearty desire to return again, so soon as it is cleansed;" which "Charity" is a great "proof of our Moderation."[2] Unto which I add the reverend Hooker's words;[3] "With Rome we" do "not communicate concerning sundry her gross and grievous abominations; yet touching those main parts of Christian truths wherein they constantly still persist, we gladly acknowledge them to be of the family of Jesus Christ; and our hearty prayer to Almighty God is, that being enjoined so far forth with them, they may at length (if it be his will) so yield [to frame and] reform themselves, that no distraction remain in any thing, but that we "may all with one heart and" voice "glorify God the Father of our Lord" Jesus Christ, "whose Church we are."

[1] Non enim ab ecclesia Romana simpliciter et in omnibus defecimus: sed in illis duntaxat rebus in quibus ipsa defecit ab Apostolica, atque adeo a se ipsa, veteri et pura Ecclesia: neque alio discessimus animo quam ut, si correcta ad priorem Ecclesiæ formam redeat, nos quoque ad illam revertamur, et communionem cum illa in suis porro cœtibus habeamus. Quod ut tandem fiet, toto animo Dominum Jesum precamur. Quid enim pio cuique optatius, quam ut ubi per baptismum renati sumus, ibi etiam in finem usque vivamus? modo in Domino.

Ego Hier. Zanchius, cum tota mea familia, testatum hoc volo toti Ecclesiæ Christi, in omnem æternitatem.

H. Zanchii de Relig. Christian. Fides. p. 215. Neostadt Palat.

[2] Schism guarded: [Abp. Bramhall's Works. Dubl. 1676.] p. 399.

[3] Eccl. Pol. Bk. iii. ch. i. 10. Oxf. 1841.

Hear we once more King James;[1] "I could wish from my heart it would please God to make me one of the members of such a general Christian union in religion, as laying wilfulness aside on both hands, we might meet in the midst, which is the centre and perfection of all things. For if they" of the Roman Church "would leave and be ashamed of such new and gross corruptions of theirs, as" they "themselves cannot maintain, nor to deny be worthy [of] Reformation, I would, for my own part, be content to meet them in the mid-way, so that all novelties might be renounced on either side."[2] Which passage I find cited by Cressy's Answer to Dr. Pierce, adding thus, "See the condescense of this great King." The want of such Moderation makes the Church of Rome so irreconcilable as it is. (v. Ch. xiii. § 7.)

The Reformation of our Church was the more Christian, because not fierce, but well governed.

6. It was the speech of a wise Bishop, concerning too sudden a convert, "I do not well like a man, that tells me so presently, he hath changed a whole religion at once:" even so our Reformation was perfected by just degrees; and being more moderate, 'tis hoped it is the more durable. Dr. Hammond hath largely vindicated the honest policy of the Church of England, for compliance only so far as was innocent: "I cannot imagine," saith he, "but Liturgy, Moderation and Charity may be able to bring in as fair a shoal of proselytes, to convert as many Papists to us, or at least confirm Protestants, as an ordinance for sequestration of all their goods, and halter, and Directory will be able to do." I know what we justly call Moderation, there are some will style a halting between God and Baal;[3] a "Laodicean lukewarmness[4] of Reformation, as hath been," they say,

[1] Stow's Chron. anno 1603. p. 841. Lond. 1631.

[2] [Rom. Cath. Doctr. no Novelties, by S. C. 1662. pp. 301, 302.]

[3] Dav. Calderwood Altare Damascen. 1623.

[4] Tantum vero abest ut ne pusillum quidem Chaldæorum spiritualium reformatio Anglicana reliquerit, ut de eodem dicere spiritus sanctus adigatur, quæ de Laodicea est: Novi opera tua, id est, te neque frigidum esse, neque fervidum: id est, neque papistam, neque reformatam, sed tepida quadam temperatura quasi inter utramque mediam.

Rob. Parker de Polit. Eccl. lib. i. c. xxv. p. 65. 1615.

"matter of continual complaint to the Godly of this Nation:"[1] whereas certainly a fierceness and extremity in Reformation is as great reason of complaint; for as Dr. Pierce hath it, "The way to convince a Papist, is to accuse them *in measure* of their corruptions" (a Puritanical opposition confirms a Papist, and makes him conclude he is orthodox because he conquers[2]). Thus Bishop Sanderson[3] observed, that "some promote the interest of Rome, and betray the Protestant cause, by mistaking the question. Wherefore let it always be remembered, that our Church hath admirably imitated our blessed Saviour's Reformation, which was a quiet, and peaceable, and orderly reformation: He did not pull down before he had another frame of order instituted: he did not destroy all before him, as some Reformers do, who love to run to the other extreme; sundry instances are often[4] given, that our Lord made no more alteration than was necessary; neither was his reformation wrought by force of arms, with great noise and violence, but it was gentle and according to great (ἐπιείκεια) Moderation, as became the Prince of Peace, and the great Lawgiver of his Church.

Somewhat the like Apology was made at the beginning of the Reformation; "It was said, that as our Saviour did not reveal all things to his disciples till they were able to bear them; and as the Apostles did not of a sudden abolish all the rites of Judaism, but for some time, to gain the Jews, complied with them, and went to the Temple and offered sacrifices; so the people were not to be [over] driven in this change. The Clergy must be brought out of their ignorance

[1] Henderson's first Paper to K. Ch. I.
[v. Collier's Eccl. Hist. Lond. 1841. vol. viii. p. 308.

[2] [vid. Dr. Pierce's Serm. bef. His Majesty. Oxf. 1663. p. 12.]

[3] v. Pref. to Serm. § 18. Lond. 1657.

[4] [For it is an ordinary observation which Paulus Fagius in his notes on the Targum (a most learned Protestant) first suggested to me, that many of the Jewish Ceremonies were imitated by Christ himself under the Gospel..... so also the imposition of hands, a form of benediction among the Jews, as ancient as Jacob himself, Gen. xlviii. 14, in blessing Joseph's sons; and is often used by Christ to that same purpose.]
Dr. Hammond's View of the New Directory. Oxf. 1646. § 43. p. 40.

by degrees; but to drive furiously, and to do all at once, might have spoiled the whole design,——therefore these slow steps were thought the surer and better method."[1] But soon after, the excellent frame of our Constitution was made more perfect; considering which, Doctor Cressy may be thought to owe a penance for his Exomologesis, where he saith of the English Church, "By the just judgment of God she had only [a] power given her to destroy the Temple of God, but not so much as to lay one stone towards the raising up another in the place of it."[2]

Albeit the Moderation of our Church seems to have enraged her Adversaries; yet because of this Moderation, our church is the better prepared to survive Persecution.

7. This Moderation of our Church hath made it the great envy of the Church of Rome, and the chiefest object of its despite. "But of all places," said a wise writer,[3] "their desires and attempts to recover England have been always, and still are the strongest; which although in their more sober moods, sundry of them will acknowledge to have been the only nation, that took the right way of justifiable Reformation, in comparison of others who have run headlong to a tumultuous innovation (so they conceive it); whereas that alteration which hath been in England, was brought in with peaceable and orderly proceeding, by general consent of the realm representatively assembled in [solemn] Parliament; a great part of their own Clergy according and conforming themselves thereto; no Luther, no Calvin, the square of" our "Faith; [what public discussing and long deliberation did persuade them to be faulty; that taken away,] the succession of Bishops, and vocation of Ministers continued, the dignity and state of the Clergy preserved; [the honour and solemnity of the service of God not abased;] the more ancient usages of the Church not cancelled: in sum, no humour of affecting contrariety, but a charitable endeavour rather of conformity with the Church of Rome, in whatsoever they thought, not gainsaying to the express law of God;" which is the only way of meet Reformations, thereby—"the fitter—to be an umpire" to the rest. Of all

[1] Hist. of Reform. Bk. iii. p. 219. Lond. 1681. vol. i.

[2] Cressy (H. de) Exomol. p. 384. Par. 1647.

[3] Europæ Speculum. pp. 227, 228. by Sir Edward Sandys. Lond. 1673.

places in the world, they "desire most to recover" this, "making full account that the rest would soon follow."

"But to as high a tide as they are risen in their desires thereof, to as low an ebb are they fallen in their hopes, being less now, I perceive, than ever; having seen her Majesty so often and miraculously preserved, their treasons discovered, their excommunications vanished, their armies defeated, their books answered, their chief champions discouraged."

And we hope this moderation of our Church may still, with God's wonderful Providence, preserve her;[1] and it hath not been thought improbable, that their immoderate asserting of the authority of the Pope, and their severities to such as differ from them, will some time or other awaken—if not themselves, yet—such an understanding in others as may prove a truer mother of devotion, than the ignorance they cherish. Bishop Bramhall therefore had good reason to say of the Romanists, "They fear our Moderation more than the violent opposition of others."[2]

The Moderation of our Church in her Reformation, was founded on Rules of absolute Justice, as in sundry great Instances is made to appear.

8. This Moderation being the great praise of our Reformation, I cannot but compare the effects of this Moderation in our Reformation by some of the rules and measures of Justice, which a right moderation always supposeth: which justice also is considered as due to God and his truth; and hath appeared in the sincere endeavours of our Church for the advancing the true honour of Almighty God, the suppression of superstition,[3] (yet) "procuring of reverence" to God's holy Mysteries and Sacraments:[4] "Avoiding diversities of opinions, and" "establishing [of] consent about true religion:"[5] preventing "Factions and Schisms."[6] How much primitive simplicity, and most discernible intent at the glory of

[1] Vis consilî expers mole ruit sua.
Vim temperatam Dî quoque provehunt
In majus.
Hor. iii. iv. 65, 66.

[2] Serm. on King's Restor. Works. p. 957.

[3] Pref. to Injunctions.

[4] Pref. to the Liturgy.

[5] Title of the Articles.

[6] Act for Uniform.
Preface.

God and edification of men, and establishing truth and peace with all freedom from prejudice and passion, hath appeared throughout the whole frame of our Liturgy, Articles, and Homilies, and Constitutions, and Versions we have of Holy Scripture, any who are sincere themselves may easily acknowledge, if they will truly consider the same. For as our Homily of Holy Scripture saith,[1] "Without a single eye, pure intent, and good mind, nothing is allowed before God." And in the Homily of Prayer, earnest complaint is made of such as "would deface the plain and simple religion of Christ."

In pursuance of these sincere designs of piety, truth, peace, and order, the moderation of our church in her Reformation, will the more certainly appear founded in justice, if we consider,

1. Our Church hath not made Truth to submit to her authority, but hath cheerfully and sincerely submitted herself to Truth: she hath not had a weight and a weight, to buy the Truth by one, and to sell it to another; but hath judged of all truth, and the degrees of its necessity, by the standard which God hath given his Church, namely, the Holy Scriptures, the only Rule of her Faith: so in rejection of error, our Church hath been impartial to either extreme.

2. Our Church holds no such doctrines as necessarily or by consequence overthrow a good life, and the practice of devotion: for, this we must say for the constitution of our church, the vices among us are in nowise the consequences of our doctrines; neither have we any such moderation among us, to reconcile the pleasures and profits of sin, with the hope of happiness hereafter, subjecting the most divine things to most vile purposes; which tends to make the world believe that Christian Religion is a cheat, and its priests the most vile impostors of any. Whatever the scandalous opinions and practices of the adversaries of our Church have done, to the great hinderance of the conversion of many, and the injury of Christianity, our church of England gives no offence to Jew or Greek, Mahometan or Heathen.

[1] [Pt. 1st.]

3. Our Church hath not squared the frame of its ecclesiastical policy by the ends of secular grandeur, or external pomp, as if she could put off Christianity to put on worldly glory: and as if we believed in such a Messias as the Jews expected, rather than in the crucified Jesus, whose kingdom is not of this world. And here, rather than stay the reader too long, I commit to his reflection, how the peculiar doctrines of the Roman Church tend to the increase of their power, or rather patrimony, [1]rather than that interest of the Christian Religion, which the whole constitution of our church is framed first to regard. Here might properly be considered, the intolerable charge which the moderation of our Church justly saves us, in that expense which unjustly follows Popery. The one doctrine of Purgatory will cost any one very dear upon the belief of it. How many Indulgences, Masses, Jubilees, &c., must be paid for.[2]

4. Our Church by its moderation, hath been far from driving on any corrupt designs; whereas the moderation of the Romish Church hath been always noted very artificial. Whence they have moderate explications for the doubtful indulgences, for the soft austerities, for the sour legends, for the credulous visions, for the enthusiast; fair interpretations for what may seem harsh; a mild sense for their turn, and a strict sense also to keep up the authority of their Church; fair and goodly baits to entangle proselytes; but when they are engaged, they may find themselves caught with a bearded hook. Even such sometime is the seeming moderation and self-denial which is cherished in our sectaries, by those who actuate them: that so they may more effectually divide, and propagate such division. Whereas, those who are truly principled according to the moderation of our Church, are made to be more constant and consistent to themselves, and to

[1] Ecclesia sub Romano Pontifice non est amplius Ecclesia, sed respublica quædam humana, sub Papæ Monarchia tota temporali.
M. Ant. de Dominis Profect. Concil. p. 13.

[2] v. Fuller's Ch. Hist. ad an. Hen. VIII. 27. Bk. v. § 42. Lond. 1655.
v. Romish Horseleech. chap. vii. viii. ix. by Thomas Staveley. Lond. 1769.
v. Brutum Fulmen. (Barlow, Thos.) Lond. 1681.
Tanti, videlicet, nobis constitit amicitia urbis Romæ.
Juell. Apol. Eccl. Angl. Lond. 1606. p. 197.

truth; not to turn to one hand of Popery, nor to the other hand of enthusiasm, in any sinful compliance; which rather than admit,—if the case requires,—they can suffer martyrdom, (as did sundry of the first compilers of our Common Prayer Book, and many since, even in the late times,) and all kinds of sufferings beside.

5. The moderation also of our church in its Reformation thus founded in justice, hath caused her to avoid such corruptions, as render the sincerity of others very doubtful. We have not by arts and devised subtilties gone about to palliate, nor by power and authority to uphold, any errors whatsoever; nor promoted ecclesiastical policy, by gratifying the corrupt inclinations of men: neither the doctrines nor policy of our church are kept up by pious or impious frauds, equivocations of oaths, false miracles, pretended revelations, counterfeit relics, forgeries and expurgation of books, devotional ignorance, exquisite arts of defaming our adversaries, and sometime extreme cruelty: This justice in which the moderation of our Church is founded makes those of our Church careful to take and heedful to keep our oaths and vows, whereas among the Romanists easy dispensations dissolve those sacred bands of society. "What think we," saith our Homily of Good Works,[1] "of those that vow chastity; and yet" (as is very moderately expressed) how their vows are kept, "it is more honest to pass over in silence." They vow poverty, and yet "their possessions and riches" are equal to those of princes: under pretence of obedience to their Fathers in Religion, "by their Rules and Canons they are made free from the obedience of their natural father and mother." According to the same principle of justice governing our church, the forms and practices of our church do not contradict our general rules of faith: because we believe in the Holy Trinity, therefore we do not worship Saints and Angels: because we believe the Holy Catholic Church, therefore we believe not in the church of Rome.

6. The same moderation of the Church founded in justice, hath governed her Reformation in using or rejecting things indifferent which have been abused; the wisdom and mode-

[1] Pt. ii.

ration of our Church having been far from judging that things which have been abused to ill purposes can never be lawfully or profitably used; which principle might lay waste all ecclesiastical or civil societies of any good orders and appointments; for there is nothing so good, but either hath been, or is capable to be, abused very grossly. Wherefore our Church doth well distinguish between what is abused by the fault of ill men,[1] and what in the nature of the thing itself, tends to promote such an abuse, is evident from the Preface to the Liturgy concerning Ceremonies, wherein our Church gives account why some Ceremonies were put away, namely, because "so far abused by the" superstition "of some," and "avarice" of others; others were retained which (our Church judged) were "not like in time to come" to "be abused as" the others "have him." [2]And as our thirtieth Canon hath it, "the abuse of a thing doth not take away the lawful use of it;" wherefore the design of our Church in its excellent Reformation was sincerely to remove what did in its own nature tend to corruption, and to retain what might be useful when corrected and reformed from the abuse. Thus Zanchy did lay down, "The true way of reforming, was not to root out every thing that was found in the Church of Rome, but to reject what was fit to be rejected, and to preserve what was fit to be preserved."

7. The same justice governing our moderation sheweth itself to the Church of Rome also, not denying what is true of her; that she professeth a true faith in the form of Baptism, and the three Creeds which she receiveth, and professeth to own the Holy Scriptures, and to hold to the four first general Councils, and the ancient Fathers. Many things in order and government she hath very excellent, and likewise in some of their devotions: but, how much she hath in her superfluous additionals built upon good foundations, gold, silver, hay, stubble, and the like, is nowhere better distinguished, than in what our Church of England hath rejected, and in what she hath retained: and, how far the

[1] Si quid vitii accessit, vitium tollatur: res vero restituatur, et concordia alatur. Wicelii Method. Concord. c. v. p. 21. Lond. 1625.

[2] Pref. "of Ceremonies."

peculiar doctrines and practices of the Roman Church do contradict the other part of what they retain in common with us, and tend to destroy the same, hath been frequently also shewed in such writings as are approved by our Church.

A signal instance of this moderation of our church of England is, [1]it never denied that a true Church might be found in the Romish Communion, however corrupted and unsound, which moderation the learned Mede[2] hath noted peculiar to the Church of England; namely, "to maintain that the Roman Church, much more the Greek" Church, erreth not in the Articles we account fundamental, because explicitly they profess them, however in "their *Assumenta* they implicitly and by consequent subvert them;" (for which, as Bishop Bramhall saith,[3] our charity frees us from schism;) but a Church that holds the foundation, may "grossly and dangerously err in their Exposition, which is the condition "of the Church of Rome:"[4] yet we do not declare, that we have any new faith, or new religion, but the same only necessarily and well reformed from those superfluous additions and luxuriances which might have endangered our religion if they had not been corrected, which was performed wisely in our Reformation, without destroying all root and branch; namely, by reserving such things as are good, and only lopping off such excrescences, as might, and ought to be spared: and in our censures of them, our Church doth wisely distinguish between what was appointed of sincere intention at first, and what hath been since of manifest corruption: neither are we altogether ignorant when most of those innovations and corruptions were introduced, and (generally) by what degrees and occasions they increased; though we may very well judge of errors and corruptions, albeit we could not fix the time of their creeping into the Church, which to speak

[1] [Nay, so far was it from the purpose of the Church of England, &c.] Canon xxx. 1603.

[2] "In Primariis et fundamentalibus fidei Articulis." J. Mede's Works. Lond. 1672.

[3] [If we say our Church, Religion, and Holy Orders, be the same with theirs, we are no schismatics, because we do not censure them uncharitably.] Answer to Bp. of Chalc. p. 225. Works, Dubl. 1676.

[4] Confer. betw. Laud and Fisher. Lond. 1639. p. 320.

more particularly of, requires a very mature consideration. Yet notwithstanding, Casaubon[1] had good reason to say, "the denying the church of Rome the being of a Church,—which some Protestants rashly and ignorantly, [or] rigidly and uncharitably—have done, hath been a great hinderance of Reformation. And I verily believe the opinion most Papists are kept in, that the religion of Protestants is a new religion, is not of little force, to make them averse from it, to this day."

[1] Casaubon's (Meric) Necessity of Reformation. p. 145. Lond. 1664.

CHAPTER XVII.

OF THE MODERATION OF OUR CHURCH IN AVOIDING ALL UNDUE COMPLIANCES WITH POPERY, AND OTHER SORTS OF FANATICISM AMONG US.

Notwithstanding our Reformation is the most of any opposite to Popery, how it hath been the craft of the Roman agents, to raise of it such a suspicion of Popery, as hath been artificially made a very unhappy Instrument of the divisions which are from our Church.

1. NOTWITHSTANDING our Church of England hath been by the most wise and learned men, foreign and domestic, acknowledged the very excellent part of the Reformation; yet how often hath she been reproached with most unjust censures of undue compliance with Popery; it being one of the known policies of the Romish factors, to cause their agents among ourselves (whom they use for the overthrow of our Church) to cry out *Popery*, at the same time they most of all serve the Papal interest themselves. Wherefore that the Romanists may use the Separatists with the more unperceivable disguise and success to undermine our constitution, these also have been inspired to blast with the name of Popery, what is rightly established in our Church. Hence is it, that the writings and private insinuations of Dissenters are full of this charge, in a joint design to disgrace our communion, and to exasperate other Protestants against us; some of those exceptors running to such an excess of rigour, as to count Churches, Bells, God-fathers, Churching of Women, Burial Service, the Gloria Patri, to come under the name of Popery; although by no instance was it made to appear, that our church agrees with the Romanist in any thing contrary to Scripture, and the practice of the primitive Church: as she is truly also most removed from fanaticism; neither using nor encouraging any enthusiastic way of religion; nor allowing any resisting of authority under any

religious pretences whatsoever. Any one may be convinced, that no formed Church in the Christian world is more truly Protestant than is the Church of England, nor any which (all things compared) less compromiseth with Rome. If they will but consider in our Articles, Liturgy, Canons, Constitutions, Practice, Oaths of Supremacy, &c., how firmly our church preserves and enforceth the Reformation: yea, the Canons of 1640 did excellently take care "for the suppressing the growth of Popery," (Canon iii. 6) and also "of Socinianism," (Canon iv.) which seeds of Socinianism have been scattered amongst our sectaries, and have of late had great growth among them: yet, nevertheless, if such friends as they should slip into greater heresy, so long as they are with them in the schism there is a special respect due to them, rather than to the close adherents of the Church of England; who because they run not into the madness of their extremes, and are not outrageous too in that madness, they are forward to clamour against our Church itself as Popish, and turn their own silly surmises into powerful calumnies. Neither do those who reproach our constitution sufficiently call to mind what hath been done all along since the Reformation, by our Kings of England, and the great councils of the Kingdom, and the orders of the Church, and the industry of our Bishops, for the suppression of the growth of Popery.

How the great labours of our Bishops, and our Clergy, remaining the most impregnable defence of the Reformation, hath stirred up the more earnest opposition of the Church of Rome to our Church.

2. But as a sufficient evidence that our Church, according to its establishment, doth in no sort favour Popery; they must be very disingenuous and wanting to truth, who will not readily acknowledge that the labours of our Bishops, and our conformable clergy, remain the most impregnable defence of the Reformation. For who, I pray, have more strenuously and constantly opposed the innovations and immoderate extravagances of the Church of Rome than our Bishops, and the learned men in firm communion with our Church, even since Queen Mary's days, when some were Martyrs and Confessors? and whose writings but theirs who have held firm communion with our Church, remain as the constant bulwark of our Protestant Reformation? wherefore the Romanists'

keenest displeasure[1] and jealousy hath been always against the Church of England, because from her they have always received as forcible repulses as any. As nothing doth more stir up the anger of a zealous enemy, than the equal behaviour of those they malign; and a moderate carriage doth provoke their sharpest hatred: so certainly, nothing hath more stirred up the jealousy of the Romanists, than the excellent temper which is observed in our Church's constitution. "It is for the sake of this poor Church alone," said our most noble Lord Chancellor, "that the State hath been so much disturbed: It is her Truth and Peace, her Decency and Order, which they labour to undermine and pursue with so restless a malice: And since they do so, it will be necessary for us to distinguish between Popish and other Recusants; between them that would destroy the whole Flock, and them that only wander from it.

As for those of our Separatists who have sometimes managed Debates with the Romanists, the cunning Adversary commonly lets them alone: for how seldom do we see a Romanist write against or oppose a Nonconformist, and be in much earnest against him? Not merely because he thinks such inconsiderable, but because these are doing their Work for them as fast as they can;[2] whereas those contests which have been managed upon the principles of our Church's Reformation have given the Romanists greatest awe, and have always exercised their utmost strength.

The vain and ungrateful jealousies of our Separatists and Enthusiasts, are the more unjust,

3. Wherefore those of the Separation who have been concerned in these clamours and surmises of our Church favouring Popery, have acted, therein as appears, first, very falsely, and then very imprudently, in reproaching so

[1] Immortale odium et nunquam sanabile vulnus
Ardet adhuc Coptos et Tentyra.
Juven. xv. 34, 35.

[2] [Ld. Chanc. Finch. v. Cobbett's Parl. Hist. vol. iv. col. 1089. Lond. 1808.]

[3] Hoc Ithacus velit et magno mercentur Atridæ.
Virg. Æn. II. 104.

excellent a Reformation, and by joining with them in their opposing our Church, they strengthen the hands of the Romanists whom they pretend to oppose, to the great scandal of the Christian Religion, and great mischief to the true Protestant Interest; which caused Bishop Morton, in his Epistle to the Nonconformists,[1] to tell them, (beside their notorious scandals given to the Church of God itself,) of their breaking the hedge of peace, and opening the gap for the wild boar out of the Romish Forest to enter in, and root out that goodly Vine which many Pauls (industrious Bishops) many Apollos (faithful Martyrs) have planted and watered. Even as Josephus[2] notes, the Divisions of the Jews laid them open to their overthrow. And by their several divisions which they help to propagate among us, they join with the Romanists in endeavouring to overthrow and destroy our constitution; "While they are [still] crumbling into [fractions and] factions, biting and" devouring "one another, a vigilant adversary," who "is intent upon" his "advantages and opportunities, may, when he spieth his time, overmaster them with much" more "ease, and" less "resistance."[3] And the more unreasonable and vehement they are in their clamours, the more they help the Roman engineer to confound and overturn. Therefore Archbishop Whitgift,[4] now above a hundred years since, said, I am [fully] persuaded [that] you and they do the Pope great good service, and [that] he would not miss you for any thing; For what is his desire, but to have this Church of England (which he hath [ac]cursed) utterly defaced and discredited, to have it by any means overthrown, if not by foreign enemies, yet by domestic[al] dissension; And what

because they have appeared really acted by that Interest (not in intention, but in event.)

[1] [vid. Bp. Morton's "Defence of Three Ceremonies," &c. Lond. 1610.]

[2] [ὅτι γὰρ αὐτὴν στάσις δικεῖα καθεῖλε, καὶ τὰς Ῥωμαίων χειρας ακούσας, καὶ τὸ πῦρ ἐπὶ τὸν ἅγιον ναὸν εἵλκυσαν οἱ Ἰουδαίων τύραννοι, μάρτυς αὐτὸς ὁ πορθήσας Τίτος Καῖσαρ.] Josephi ad Bell. Jud. Procem. § iv. tom. ii. Oxon. 1720.

[3] Bp. Sanderson's Pref. to his Sermons. § 23. Lond. 1657.

Ad rerum momenta cliens, seseque daturus
Victori. Claudian. de Bell. Gildon. 251, 252. Amst. 1760.

[4] Abp. Whitgift's Answ. to the Admon. p. 55. Lond. 1574.

See his Letter to Q. Elizabeth. Fuller's Hist. lib. ix.

[fitter and] apter instruments could he have [had] for that purpose than you, who under" pretended "zeal, overthrow" what others "have built; under colour of purity, seek to bring in deformity; under cloke of equality, [and humility,] would usurp as great tyranny and lofty lordliness over your parishes, as ever the Pope" of Rome "over the whole Church." Which also was the judgment of the University of Oxford, 1603. "Verily these Men are like Samson's Foxes.[1] They have their heads severed indeed, the one sort looking toward the Papacy, the other to the Presbytery; but they are tied together by the Tails with Firebrands between them, to the injury of the Church."

"Who would ever have thought," said Bishop Bancroft, 1558, in a Sermon at St. Paul's,[2] "that we should ever have lived to have heard any Protestants reprove our Religion: it must be confessed we have escaped the lion's mouth, but have fallen into a den of dragons; our enemies are those of our own house."

Therefore it is a most seasonable work at this time to cast open those Masquerades.

4. Wherefore according to a most sober judgment, it may be thought a proper means to awaken such to see their error, in the evil consequences of their separation, if some of the most earnest among them would please sincerely and faithfully to consider now, how oft they have been made use of as mere tools and instruments to purposes, the utmost reaches of which they did not know, but may now, if they will but reflect: And it might reasonably be hoped, that many would repent of their vain and scandalous jealousies, and may for the time to come, refrain such false and foolish accusations of our Church, if they please but impartially to consider, how many sectaries among us, which seem with greatest zeal, and least knowledge, to run into the furthest extreme from Popery, have not only served the design of what they appear averse from, but indeed have still a very great sympathy with them in their principles and practices; and do but charge us with what they are most guilty of in fact themselves.

[1] [Oxonium. Answere of the V. Chanc. &c. Oxf. 1603.]

[2] [Bancroft (R.) Serm. at Paules Cross, 9 Feb. 1588. p. 52.]

5. But before we enter upon this undertaking, to shew how those who are in separation from our Church do really conspire with the Romanists. To prevent any mistake, let it be remembered; First, that we do not deny that most of our Dissenters do openly demonstrate a very zealous and undoubted abhorrence of Popery; their real purpose in which is not here questioned, but believed: [1]for such is our charity for those who are generally seduced, we count it indeed the unhappiness of their error, that many of them do entertain such principles as are agreeing with Popery, but we do not charge upon them the knowledge of, or consent to the consequences of their own principles; but conclude they are sown in their minds (not by their own direct choice, so much as) "by the sleight of men, and cunning craftiness whereby they lie in wait to deceive." [Eph. iv. 14.]

Some moderate cautions here inserted to prevent any unkind mistakes.

2. Among the diversities of sects thus influenced, we acknowledge it most manifest, that some are more acted than others, by far: [2]nevertheless all that are in separation from our Church, in that their very division from us, do actually join with the Romanists, to strengthen their hands, and weaken the interest of our established Reformation (more or less). And I suppose it may be taken for granted, that generally they who raise most clamour against our Church as guilty of Popery, they most of all others will appear most actuated by the Roman interest.

3. And since of late especially some of the worst principles of Popery, have appeared among us most manifest, from such most notorious practices, as are the very proper consequences of their generally approved doctrines; it may be judged most seasonable, even at this time, that all sincere persons be awakened to see whither those divisions naturally lead, in which so many have been engaged; whose interest they serve; whom they join with, and are acted by, how ignorant soever they are thereof: especially since of late there hath been so

[1] Sunt alii qui etiamsi non spiritu Ægyptiaco et dolo moliuntur reditum ad Papismum, at incuriæ et latæ culpæ reatum tamen incurrunt.

Altare Damascen. Dav. Calderwood. p. 558. 1623.

[2] —— Hac in re scilicet una
Multum dissimiles: ad cætera pene gemelli.

Horat. Ep. I. x. 2, 3.

much discovery made, that the overthrow of the Church of England hath been all along one of the principal aims of the conspiracies of our adversaries; and that they have endeavoured to effect the same by what our Separatists call Liberty of Conscience; though God preserve our liberty and our conscience from such snares, so artificially laid by the Romanists: who have made most use of the dissatisfactions and oppositions of our domestic Dissenters to compass their intended designs. Thus Thuanus, though of the Roman communion, declares, in his History of the Gunpowder Treason here in England; [1]the first design of their conspiracy began, upon the Papists' Petition for Liberty of Conscience being rejected.

Some objections to such an undertaking here answered.

6. But (because many are huge concerned to shift off the conviction of this great truth) if any say,—Oh, now is the time for Protestants to be united against the common adversary: and why is such a distinction kept up between Churchmen and Separatists? Very true: why is there? who hath made and continued the difference? Wherefore the proper means for consolidation of such an union among all true Protestants among us, which is most earnestly desired by us, is for our separatists to come off from such their divisions as are still designed for the overthrow of our Church; especially since the Presbyterian Brethren well observed, [2]"that a more firm union and consent of all such, as well in worship as in doctrine, would greatly strengthen the Protestant interest against all those dangers and temptations which our intestine divisions and animosities do expose us unto from the common adversary:" for them also to forsake such principles and behaviours as serve the interest of the Roman Church; and peaceably to return into communion with our most moderate Church, which is ready to overlook what is past, if it may be

[1] Ad libellum supplicem pro libertate conscientiarum a majorum religioni addictis in proximis comitiis oblatum, et a rege rejectum, fama erat, alium his proximis, quæ jam aliquoties dilata erant, porrectum iri, qui non repulsæ, ut prior, periculum, sed concessionis vel ab invito extorquendæ necessitatem adjunctam haberet.

Thuani Hist. lib. cxxxv. § 6. tom. vi. Lond. 1733.

[2] Grand Debate, p. 3. 1661.

secure of their communion for the time to come: but never let it be thought that our Church will ever come into their schism, or that we will go about to sail to Rome by a side-wind of separation.

That our Separatists and Enthusiasts generally (more or less) do conspire (in fact, albeit not in intent) with the Romanists; instanced as a specimen, in twenty particulars.

7. And now to prove the fore-mentioned proposition; that our Separatists—I do not say, all alike, nor that any sort agree in all these instances following, but—more or less do conspire in fact (however not in intent) with the Romanists; one single proof of the whole might be sufficient, namely, from their separating and dividing from such a Church as ours is (which division is the main art, and counsel, and design of the Roman engineer [1]); and from their constant and common business, which is, by reproaches (much alike) to vilify and deprave our Church in all its constitutions and offices: and especially they jointly labour to vilify our Clergy, calling them Ministers of Satan,[2] and Baal's Priests, &c. Which beside that it is a cursed, unjust, and ungrateful practice; so a more acceptable work our Separatists could never do for the Church of Rome.

2. As they serve the Romanists now by their practices, so may they more hereafter by their opinions; for so many points as they are off from our Church,[3] so much the nearer are they coming to them sundry ways; as in opposite errors, the causes may be commonly the same. Thus Archbishop Laud against Fisher observed; "rigid professors" on either side have "quite leaped over the Mean, and have been rigid the other way, as Extremity itself. And this, [if there be not both grace and wisdom to govern it,] is a very natural motion. For a man is apt to think he can never run far enough from that which he once begins to hate."[4] Of which

[1] Ut facilius Sectariorum potentiam frangerent [sc. Catholici Magistratus], variis obductis causis, alios ab aliis sociis divulserunt, quo seorsim singulos facilius debellarent; ideoque percommodam captarunt occasionem, qua negotium dextre gerere possent.

Jo. Paul. Windeck Prognosticon. Col. Agr. 1603. p. 414.

[2] Clero Anglicano nihil putidius. Campianus Jesuita.

[3] See Parag. 8 and 9 of this Chapter.

[4] Conf. betw. Laud and Fisher. Lond. 1639. Pref. p.*2.

sort the several factions and interests among us have been continually like the Friars at the Council of Trent, who were always watchful and zealous to maintain their peculiar doctrines: among which extremes, our Church (if she might be listened to) would reduce all to a due temper, upon surer and more reasonable foundations, than the Bishops at that Council laboured to do.

3. As our Laws by one name call both sorts of Separatists, Recusants; so our Romanists and Sectaries behave themselves much alike: the one have their private Masses, the other their Conventicles, both contrary to the Laws of our Kingdom and our Church: both the Romanists and the Separatists join in requiring a License for the exercise of their religion in private houses.

4. Both our Romanists and Sectaries, by increasing our divisions, help with joint force to make a general toleration necessary, which would give the Romanists the greatest advantage they can desire. They both supplicate with equal earnestness to be tolerated, whereas the principles of each lead them not to tolerate others.

5. Their pretences to all mildness and gentleness are equally supple and assuring: but how mild they are when they are uppermost, odious experience testifies, so that instances of their extreme rigours, which are most known, need not be enumerated. We need not call on the Inquisition to testify to the rigours of the Romanists; nor look into all the severities of the Disciplinarians, who have been known to inflict censures for a suspicion of covetousness, a superfluity in raiment, for dancing at a wedding, for using their liberty in their recreations; and have kept others, as well as themselves, from the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, upon uncharitable accounts. It hath been observed, where the discipline in Scotland was established, the People had a high commission in every parish, and groaned under the arbitrary decrees of ignorant governors: if there arose a private jar between the parent and the child, the husband the wife, these domestical judges must know it. Formerly and lately among some, they have been scarce allowed in conscience to marry without the consent of the Teacher; or when they have, it hath been matter of complaint.

6. It hath been already observed at large, how both the Romanists and the Separatists agree in their groundless and unjust accusing the Government of persecution: like the Donatists of old, who cried out "Persecution," when they most of all had afflicted the Catholics. The Romanists have their dire Anathemas and heavy Censures; the Separatists their cruel Maranathas; and preach damnation most of all against them that differ from them, especially if they be of the Church's side. ch. xiii. § 56.

7. Nevertheless both sorts can very easily give out Indulgences to their own parties. God sees no sin in his children, say some sectaries; which is a greater bribe to be of their party, than any can be found in the Penitentiary tax, for sins as they are sold at Rome.

8. When the Papists and the Separatists have been at a loss, that they cannot justify their proceedings by the laws of God or man, then they meet in one common sanctuary, whereby they are bold to sanctify the most extravagant practices; pretending Providence for their warrant. Thus Pope Pius V., in his speech in the Consistory of Cardinals at Rome, after the murder of King Henry III. of France, sundry times; in one Oration, he magnifies the exploit of that wretched zealot, as brought about by the special providence of God.[1] The same impudence or ignorance others have used to defend such practices as no laws, divine or human, could justify, sheltering them under the wide pretence of Providence, which hath been well called, a fine pliable principle, it will lap about your finger like Barbary gold.[2]

9. The Romanists enlarge their creed in sundry articles, without belief of which there is no salvation; and very many Separatists deliver their peculiar doctrines as absolutely necessary to a state of salvation; though among the divided sects many of them are contrary one to another.

They both often stuff their prayers and their catechisms

[1] Nec sine Dei Opt. Max. particulari providentia et dispositione perpetratum. [Cathol. Cause; or, Murdering Kings justified. Lond. pp. 5, 6.]

[2] Answer to Mr. Jenkins, p. 16.
Regimen politicum fundatur in extraordinaria Dei providentia. ib. p. 15.

with matters of doubtful controversy; and in maintaining the same, they are alike too dogmatical.

10. We need not here prove what is so well known, namely, the mean opinion which the Romanists have of Holy Scriptures, supposing they receive their authority from the Pope; yet receiving their own Traditions with equal affection and reverence. The Separatists, by casting off, to another extreme, the real authority and testimony of God's Church, (which hath been all along the Keeper, the Witness, the Defender, the Interpreter of Holy Scriptures,) by degrees many of our Separatists have come to throw off the Holy Scriptures as a rule of faith and manners. The Romanists they add their own traditions to the word of God; and many Sectaries call their teaching, and their impulses, the word of God, which often is quite contrary thereunto. The Roman-
v. ch. iv. § 2. ists set up the Pope for an infallible interpreter: many of the Separatists account the private spirit an infallible interpreter.

11. The Romanists pretend that miracles and extraordinary gifts have not ceased, but are still necessary signs of a true Church. It is also the very height of enthusiasm to hold as many of our Separatists do, that immediate revelations from God, and extraordinary illapses from the Holy Spirit, are necessary and common among all the faithful. Which pretences lying obvious to an easy confidence, cannot easily be wrested from such as will hold them to their own destruction.

12. The Romanists assert an implicit faith which is determinately resolved into the authority of their leaders: whether the like is ever required by the leaders generally of factions among us, I do not now inquire: but however that the same is granted by their followers appears most evident; for when many can give no reason for what they hold, they keep close to their ringleaders, and move and change with them generally; and how much the authority of the persons they have in admiration, governs them, more than any sway of argument, is daily experienced. And whereas a due regard on this side, the implicit faith of the Romanists is due to Go-
v. ch. vi. § 9. 10. vernors, toward such, how scrupulous, delicate, and wary are they, not to say disregardful; but in following their masters of factions, how prone are they, and sequacious.

13. Both the Romanists and Sectaries (to serve their turn upon occasion) cast off the use of reason, wherein God hath made it a guide: therefore they both reproach our faith as a human, probable, natural, fallible faith; the one because we will not receive oral tradition, and the like uncertainties; the other, because we do not think an immediate extraordinary testimony of the Spirit necessary to assure us of the certainty we have of our faith, of the truth of Holy Scriptures; to afford us also our words in prayer, and the assurance of our salvation.

14. The Superstitions of the Papists are notorious, and also of our Sectaries; and so many, they are not here to be numbered. If superstition be going beyond all measure, their humour is to keep no measure nor order, but to heap one superfluous thing upon another; and then they think God is pleased, because they are: many of them account it a sign of grace, and the favour of God, and matter of greatest conscience, not to hear or use Common Prayers, nor any decent rite or practice required by the Church. The Romanists invoke Saints of uncertain sanctity: many of the Separatists call those of their own party the only Saints, and judge them to have the right to judge the world, and in the mean time to rule it; if they cannot do that, they must censure what is done by others.

15. The Romanists and our Enthusiasts are very much the same in their pharisaical humour, described at large, and reprehended by our Saviour. To name only, their binding heavy burdens and grievous to be borne, and laying them on men's shoulders. As the Romanists add twelve articles to their Creed; a wondrous number of ceremonies to their seven sacraments: not to mention more of their loads of injunctions; their festivals; their auricular confession; their vows; their scourgings, and fastings, and penances which they lay upon the poor; when the imposers do not touch them with one of their fingers, or with wetting the least of them, they can get themselves an easy dispensation. Doth not the same pharisaical spirit possess many, who make the peace of the world, and the Church, depend upon their peculiar doctrines? who make all they can, think it a sin to come to Common Prayer; to kneel at the Sacrament; to be Matt.xxiii.4.

baptized according to order of the Church; to pray in a form; to wear a surplice: instead of making broad their philacteries, and enlarging the fringes of their garments, they have had another sort of superstition, in wearing their hair in a precise cut, somewhat like the tonsures of the Romanists; some will not wear a riband: others not starch in their bands, nor pull off their hat.

16. The Council of Trent makes the intention of the Priest necessary to the Sacraments: many of the Separation make the spiritual grace of the Minister absolutely necessary for the people's receiving benefit from the same.

17. Both the Romanists and the Separatists use much the same kind of Arts to blast their adversaries: the Romanists have their legends and fables; just so our Separatists love to pick up stories of Bishops and the Clergy, and to patch them together in enmity to our Church: with these they keep up the humour of the people who entertain them with good things. I wish such would remember what in Levit. xix. 16, the command is, Thou shalt not go up and down a talebearer among thy people: which the Chaldee Paraphrase interprets, (Non comedes placentas in populo tuo,) Thou shalt not go up and down among the people, pacifying thy appetite, eating of their delicacies; and to please them again, tell tales of governors.[1]

18. Most of our [2]Separatists are highly against the government in the Church by Bishops: and in the Covenant the same is ranked with superstition, heresy, and schism: even so the Jesuits, who are the great exalters of the Pope's supremacy, declare commonly against Bishops, as if the source of all disorders came from Bishops contending for their jurisdiction; which (say they) makes so many small Popes: (thus the

[1] Apud Anglos est simile genus hominum, quales apud Italos sunt circulatores, de quibus modo dictum est, qui irrumpunt in convivia magnatum, aut in cauponas vivarias, et argumentum aliquod quod edidicerunt recitant, puta mortem omnibus dominari, aut laudem matrimonio.

Erasm. Ecclesiast. lib. iii. p. 542. 1536.

[2] Inepte nobis tribuis, Arminiane, Catharorum nomen, cum Cathari suos abuerint Episcopos, quos nos omnes sublatos ex omnibus ecclesiis optamus.

Altar. Damasc. Dav. Calderwood. 1623. p. 367.

Jesuits argue:[1]) then it will follow that the Pope cannot dispose of things belonging to their jurisdictions; and then the Pope may be opposed by these Bishops, which may be a ready way to overthrow the papacy. So that the controversy, who hath the jurisdiction which belongs to Bishops in common, nay, who have such jurisdiction by divine right; is driven between the court of Rome, who challenge it to the Pope; and other Consistories among us in division from our Church.

Wherefore in opposition to Bishops, the highest Papalins talk most of the sovereign power of the people, because they hold the interest of the Pope to be upheld by their veneration. And by the interest of the Jesuits for many years of late, the Popish Faction in England have been withheld from having any titular Bishops. And most of our separatists would be glad there were no other; thus in their opposition to Bishops they agree.

19. Both the Romanists and Separatists extremely agree in their principles against the Civil Magistrate; according to that of Bishop Laney;[2] "The Papists and Presbyterians [how ill soever they may agree in other matters], hunt in couples against the King's power and supremacy." 'Tis admirable to see how the commonwealth's men, in the times of the late Rebellion, received their principles from the ancient and modern writers of the Jesuits, and other Papists; and still agree with them in most of the republican doctrines, and tendencies of them to the like practices. Both the Papists and the others infringe the authority of the King in ecclesiastical matters within his own Dominions: both deny the right of kings to call synods and ecclesiastical Convocations: both hold that kings may be put out of all ecclesiastical communion: both deny the supremacy of the King; one attributes it to the Pope originally, the other to the people. And the same arguments which the Pope useth for his supremacy over kings, the Disciplinarians use for establishing their

[1] Quilibet Episcoporum supremumne in propria Diœcesi culmen imperii tenebit? Clamabimus, unam nos tyrannidem extinxisse, innumerabiles peperisse.]

v. C. Pallavicini Vera Hist. Conc. Trid. tom. i. lib. i. c. xxv. § 15. Antuerp. 1670.

[2] Serm. bef. the King, on 1 Thess. iv. 11. Lond. 1666. p. 23.

sovereignty: the one exempts all the clergy from the jurisdiction of the supreme magistrate: and the other Disciplinarians in Scotland have now a long time endeavoured to have their Ministers exempted from the punishments of the civil Governor. The pretence of the King's authority against his person, was hatched under the Roman territories, and was made use of in the Holy League of France.[1] The rules for making a king become a tyrant, and then ceasing to be a king, that it may be lawful to attempt anything against his person and life, are so much the same that they cannot be more: if we compare Lessius, Suarez, Bellarmine, and many other Jesuits, and Mr. White of Obedience and Government, with Knox and Buchanan and many other Republicans since; wherein both sorts, as rivals, seem to deal with the people, as some gallants do by foolish women, flatter them so long into a pride and conceit of themselves so great, that at length they become intolerable and ungovernable: of this sort were the Discourses in the Council of Basil, related by Æneas Sylvius, (afterward Pope,) who could not contain from highly commending[2] the Bishop of Burgen for his admirably vilifying the power of kings. Thus the worst of our Enthusiasts, and of the Romanists, agree in that character of the Pharisees; "they mightily employed their powers to oppose Kings."[3] So true is the observation of King Charles I.,[4] of some Protestants; "They seem to have learned, and to practise the worst principles of the Papists." And of both, the Lord Bishop of Salisbury; "The bigot and jesuited Romanist, the frighted and transported Reformist, have been authors of the most horrible treasons and rebellions."

20. I need not here particularly relate how many doctrines of the Romanists tend to dissolve the very bonds of relative duty one toward another; as in their monastical vows; absolv-

[1] Chr. Loyalty, lib. ii. c. 1.
v. H. Foulis of Pop. Treason, &c. pp. 373, 374. Lond. 1681.

[2] Quem sermonem sic ornate, sic suaviter disputavit, sic docte atque verifice, ut omnes ab ejus ore avide dependerent.
Æn. Syl. de reb. gest. Concil. Bas. Basil. 1551. p. 7. B.

[3] Φαρισαῖοι καλοῦνται, βασιλεῦσι δυνάμενοι μάλιστα ἀντιπράσσειν.
Joseph. Ant. Jud. lib. xvii. cap. ii. § 6. tom. ii. Oxon. 1720.

[4] Εικ. Βασιλ. § 15. p. 121. 1649.

ing people from their oaths and allegiance, and faith with heretics, &c. How do many principles of our Enthusiasts and Separatists tend to destroy the relation of king and subject, bishop and people? Their very divisions, how do they alienate the minds of Christians one from another? Though they ought to belong to the same moderate Church, are subjects of the same most gracious King, are of the same Protestant and Reformed interest, beside the danger they bring to themselves and their families by their pernicious and destructive separation, so many and more might be the instances of their loosing the bonds of relative duty.

Particularly how the Quakers are one with the Papists (how ignorantly soever) in sundry instances.

8. Among other sects, it would grieve any one to behold so many seduced into the silly herd of Quakers—a sect into which the very dregs of heresy and schism seem to have been drained, as it were, into one common sewer; in the inventing and propagating which, even Satan and the Jesuit seem to have clubbed their utmost art; possessing them with an evil spirit of delusion, which they call the "Light within them;" according to which, what is most contrary to Holy Scriptures, and right reason; and the testimony and judgment of the whole Church, and the prudent command of governors, and the sense and custom of wise and pious men, must pass for an extraordinary illumination from God, merely on the credit of their own saying so.

This one enthusiastical conceit of the "Light within," and opinion of such revelation from God, is the most unhappy contrivance and suggestion that can be, to lift up silly people above a possibility of being contradicted, by any sober principles of scripture, or reason, or regular authority; fitted to possess such with a lusty pride, and bewitched conceit of themselves; an incorrigible moroseness and obstinacy; an intolerable censoriousness, a sordid scorn of whatever is in just place above them: and wonderfully disposeth such for Popery; for when once they are sufficiently divided from our Church, the work is sufficiently done. Then if any arch emissary from Rome, will come with visions and revelations, and a show of extreme authority; and humour this people still in their outrageous clamours against our Church: especially if they will fall a quaking and groaning intolerably, and appear

in the Streets, as some have done, soundly be-dunged with calumny and filth, such may make some people believe any Romish tenets as revelations from God.

That they have been wrought and acted unto this by the common authors of our Divisions, is such plain attested matter of fact, that I suppose few considering persons question it. Some long since took notice, that in the northern parts where there abounded most Popish Priests and Recusants, there this upstart sect of Quakers first sprung up; sending thence their emissaries two by two into other quarters of the kingdom, (as the unclean beasts entered the Ark by couples); beside which, many reasons confirm the same.

1. The effect in that spirit of division and delusion, which so successfully obtains among them; to break in pieces the peace and order of the Church, unto which of all sects these are the most antipodes to. 2. There are none whose tenets more tend to destroy the Holy Scripture as a perfect rule of faith and manners: instead of which, and in opposition to the same, they set up the suggestions of their Light within them, which they call the Word, the only guide unto perfection;[1] which they and the Romanists pretend; the one even unto supererogation of merits; the other to be above all need of confession of sin. 3. None come so near the Papists in the matter of an infallible judge of doctrines. 4. The Light within them is very much like the enthusiasms of the Romanists; as Dean Stillingfleet hath set them forth in the Fanaticism of the Church of Rome.[2] 5. They join with the severest Romanists in their reproaching the Offices and Orders of our Church, and especially vilifying her Clergy; whom they would have by all means to vow wilful poverty. 6. By refusing all oaths, their allegiance is left uncertain to the King, which is the main thing such Papists would have. 7. The King's supremacy is left unacknowledged, which is another principal preparation for the owning of the Pope's supremacy. 8. In that they refuse to assist their Prince in

[1] Perfectos vocantes et semina electionis.
Irenæus adv. Hæres. Genev. 1570. pp. 23. 34.

[2] [Idolatry practised in Ch. of Rome. Lond. 1672.]

his wars, and pretend they hold it unlawful for any to fight: by that principle they not only take away the power and sword of the Magistrate, and leave the King and Country undefended, that none can live in peace and safety, and consequently that opinion leads to overthrow the very being of the whole kingdom. But the Pope also serves his design by them, being sure that so many as there are of that sect, so many will never oppose him by arms: whereas they who bind, can also loose; and the same Agent can be able to stir up their spirit of zeal also, (which the longer it hath been contained, will be the more furious,) a specimen and taste of which fury, we experience in the keen violence of their tongues, which are as a very sharp sword, upon sundry slight occasions. And when once they shall be assured that the Lord hath delivered a people to slaughter, then Down Dagon; then they will pretend they must be the Samsons: and like Pope Pius V., in his Bull against Queen Elizabeth, they will cry out, God hath set them "over all Princes and nations, to pluck up, and destroy, and to scatter, to plant and to build:"[1] they will presently be for binding Kings in chains, and our nobles in fetters of iron; that the Saints may rule, and that the mountain of his Holiness may be exalted.

9. In the mean while they have among them such a political and artificial dependence on their principal leaders, and the administration of their body is cast into such a method for communication of news, and[2] intelligence of their affairs and interests, as we may be sure is contrived and managed and directed by more subtile wits than their own; being so very like the same method which the Agents of Rome use themselves for the propagation and disposition of their matters. To mention nothing now further of their agreements with the severest emissaries of Rome in their pretences to all mortification of spirit and mildness. In their pretences to extraordinary and miraculous gifts; in their many kinds of superstitions, and pharisaicalness; in their clamours also of persecution: in their grievous anathemas and curses they

[1] [vid. Collier's Eccl. Hist. Lond. 1840. vol. vi. pp. 471, 472.]

[2] Verum cum tantam vaferrimi hi veteratores ex sola correspondentia utilitatem ad unionem inter Romanenses tuendam sentiant, non abs re est, &c. Hospinian. Hist. Jesuitica. lib. iv. Tigur. 1619. fol. 73.

use against us, too like the Roman curses, by bell, book, and candle; which sheweth what is the "Light within them."

By what steps and degrees these Progresses commonly are made toward Popery by such as separate from Communion with our Church.

9. It might be no difficult thing to shew some of those steps and degrees by which some commonly advance to Popery, who separate from Communion with our Church. The first step to division is, when what is amiss in Government and Governors, in Church or State, is set forth to the full advantage of dissatisfaction, as may make withal the most lamentable outcry that may be: unto which there shall never be wanting arch and cunning instruments, who by all plausible means shall stir up the humour, and passions, and zeal of the people under such pretences, as shall most inflame and excite them. Then in the next place are made such immoderate pretences to purity, and profession of saintship, as when poor simple people experience upon trial the same to be false, and not to answer their expectation, they run and seek from one sect to another till they come to be Quakers, and so (as we see) in the next preparation to Popery. 3. Having thus cast off all Forms as dangerous and unlawful, being raised to expect everywhere the effects of a Spirit extraordinary, they are made so enthusiastical, it is hard to contain them within ordinary bounds, till they arrive at the perfection of enthusiasm, "the Light within." 4. By the way we must note, there is no one principle which hath been the original of all this enthusiasm and division, more than that, Nothing is more lawful to be done, but for which there is an express example or precept in the Scripture. Which attributing to the Holy Scriptures that perfection which is beside the end of them, doth tend, by consequence, to take away the true perfection of them which they have, (which hath been considered in the fourth Chapter,) which hath been found true: for, all these subdivisions of sects have tended in the conclusion to cast off Holy Scripture as a rule. By the consequences of this principle, is come to pass what Archbishop Whitgift, and Hooker, and others foretold; If Puritanism should prevail, it would soon draw in Anabaptism. From them we have had Quakers and Seekers, and other Sects, which divide us, and are ready to destroy us, and to bring in

Popery, as it were, at the back door: "I may not dissemble" —"my own fears," saith Bishop Sanderson,[1] "[that] if things [shall] still go on [according] as they have [begun, and] hitherto proceeded, the application that some have made of that passage, John xi. 48, 'The Romans will come and take away both our place and nation:' will prove but a true prophecy; and Popery will overrun all at the last." 5. But when they are run out of all possibility of pretending any Scripture to justify their actions, they then warrant them by Providence, and such a necessity as God hath called them unto by extraordinary revelations, and impulses, which in the next remove comes to be "Light within them." 6. And whence once they are off from our legal establishments, what can stop the divisions of several sects from ending in confusion, and being made a prey of by designing men, whose business is, when the public is on fire, to make out their spoils: and who think we are most cunning and industrious to make the advantage by all this, but they whose greatest business, and industrious design, is to have our Church ruined: who make use of our divisions to cry up also the necessity of an infallible judge of controversy? The infallible private spirit, is a fair preparation thereunto: and when they have broken and discredited the authority of our Church, they have that taken away, which gives them most hinderance and opposition.

What hath been said confirmed by other rational proofs.

10. What hath been in so many instances proved, is most agreeable to the art, industry, and design of the Romanists, to make use of the prejudices and passions, the divided principles and interests of men, to serve their purposes; which are, by any means whatsoever, to multiply proselytes, and enlarge their party; wherefore the "Thesis" of Bishop Bramhall "out of Nilus," was worthy such an Assertor; "that the Papacy (as it was challenged and usurped in many places, and as it" hath been "usurped in our native country,) was either the procreant or conservant cause, or both procreant and conservant of all the [greater] ecclesiastical controversies in the Christian world."[2] 2. This is no more than

[1] Pref. to his Serm. § xxiii. Lond. 1657.
v. Abp. Laud's Dying Speech. Lond. 1644.

[2] Bp. Br. Vindic. of Grotius &c. p. 623. Dubl. 1676.

what is agreeable to most common experience since the Reformation, and hath been noted with great authority and remark. In the Preamble of the Act of Parliament, 27 Henry VIII. 1536, the public authority of the Kingdom took notice, how many of the Pope's emissaries were practising up and down the kingdom, and persuading the people to acknowledge his pretended authority. In the Homily against Rebellion,[1] it is observed, that the Bishops of Rome, "by the ministry of their disguised Chaplains" creep "into houses in laymen's apparel," and raise rebellion. The same Comenius relates was practised by them in the Bohemian Church.[2] Our English History tells us of sundry seditious motions, soon after and about the time of the Reformation, which received their impressions and continuance from the influence of the Romish agents, as[3] in the Lincolnshire, and Yorkshire, and Devonshire commotions and rebellions, which were actuated by Monks, Priests, and Papists. And how the like game hath been played ever since, especially from the beginning of our troubles, in England, Scotland, Ireland, &c., Mr. Foulis gives sundry proofs in his History of Pretended Saints, (chap. iii.) which other observable testimonies notoriously do verify. Archbishop Whitgift frequently traced their footsteps in the dust they themselves raised; "I am persuaded" (saith he[4]) "that" Antichrist "worketh [as] effectually at this day, by your stirs and contentions, whereby he hath and will more prevail against this Church of England, than by any other means whatsoever."

These Divisions (the character of a carnal and unspiritual temper) the Learned Mede[5] rightly judged, "at once weaken and dishonour the Protestant cause, and occasion the grand Enemy to triumph with seeing much of his work done for him, by those who would seem most averse from him, while

[1] Pt. vi.

[2] Admiscebant vero se personati quidam, qui Papæ, et Cæsaris causam promoturi dissentiones mutuas promovebant.
Comenius de bono unitatis et ordinis. Amst. 1660. § 36. p. 15.

[3] Fox's Acts and Mon. Lond. 1576. pp. 1059, 1060. 1260.

[4] Def. of Answ. to the Admon. p. 349. Lond. 1574.

[5] v. Jos. Mede's Works and Life. § 44. p. 30. Lond. 1672.

they bite and devour one another, clasps his hands, saying, Aha, Aha, our eye hath seen it, so would we have it."

The Lord-keeper Puckering spake of the unquiet Puritans in Queen Elizabeth's time, who pretended to be at war with the Jesuits, yet by their separation they did join and concur with the Jesuits in opening the door, and preparing the way to the Spanish invasion. King James in his Letter to the Assembly of Perth,[1] took notice how many of the Discipline shook hands with the upholders of Popery. King Charles I. of blessed memory, declared truly, It is possible that a Papacy in a multitude, may be as dangerous as in one. Bishop Sanderson, in his excellent Preface to his Sermons,[2] saith, It hath been observed, that where the Jesuits have been most busy, other factions have been most insolent; and that those who have lived in those counties where there are the most [and the most] rigid Presbyterians, there are also the most [and the most] zealous Romanists; for (saith he) they "help" together "to pull down" the same form of Government. Our present Lord Bishop of Lincoln[3] takes notice of the favour the Papists had under Oliver Cromwell, and the "freedom from the punishment of the penal laws, more than ever they had before," under King Charles the Martyr. "No Oath of Allegiance and Supremacy was pressed upon them; our Liturgy and Common Prayer were taken away;"—so that there was no way then to discover or legally convict a Popish Recusant." Notwithstanding the same Oliver, in a Speech to one of his Parliaments, 1654, Sept. 4.[4]) "professed that he could prove by witness, that they had a Consistory and Council that ruled all the affairs in England." And in the year 1647, when the King's Cause was at the lowest ebb, then the Romanists, by approbation of the Sorbonne Doctors, were ready to give such full satisfaction and assurances of their fidelity to the civil and political government in the Kingdom, whatsoever it shall be:[5] which they refused to do, when by the Moderation

[1] Dat. Aug. 25. 1617.

[2] § xviii. Lond. 1657.

[3] Barlow (T.) Popery. Lond. 1679. p. 86.

[4] Foulis's (Henry) Hist. of Pretended Saints. c. iii. p. 13. Oxf. 1674.

[5] Walsh's (Peter) Hist. and Vindic. of the Loyal Formulary. 1674. p. 522.

of the Government, they had a Convocation permitted them for that purpose at Dublin since the return of his Majesty. Then the Roman Leviathan had a fine time to play his game, and to sport among the people, which are like many waters: Then they laid their fruitful spawn of divisions in the Church, as well as dissension in our kingdom: as Archbishop Laud[1] most truly on the scaffold declared; "The Pope never had such an harvest in England since the Reformation, as he hath now upon the Sects and Divisions that are amongst us."

3. The same experience which our Church and Nation hath had of the conspiracy of the Sectaries and the Romanists (at least in event); other Churches and Nations have also observed:[2] as in Switzerland the Anabaptists were animated by the Papists: And in Bohemia some furious Divines carried on the Pope's Interest. A Jesuit who suffered at Strasburg, confessed that he was one of the thirty Jesuits who was employed to be agents for the Roman cause in the late German wars.[3] And Crucius[4] in his Speech, as we have it in Hospinian, saith, We are sent into Germany, not only or chiefly that we might be Teachers, and Preachers, and Schoolmasters in the Schools and Churches, but that we use all means that the Protestants do not increase; that we may join our mutual endeavours, strength, and arms, that more easily we may root them out. And for our overthrow, if they are our incendiaries, as it is believed, we may say with reference to them, what Pliny in his Natural Philosophy speaks of the nature of things; considering their principles, and the fires which break forth out of the

[1] [Lond. 1640. p. 10.]

[2] [W. Falkner's] Libertas Ecclesiast. Lond. 1603. p. 10, 11.

[3] v. Mr. Foulis (Henry) Hist. of Pretended Saints. c. iii. p. 12.

[4] Non potissimum ob hunc finem in Germaniam missi sumus, ut Doctores, Concionatores et Præceptores in scholis et templis agamus; sed ut operam demus, ne Lutherani seu Evangelici Protestantes majora incrementa sumant. Si id nostrates ab ortu Lutheri fecissent, jam Ecclesia Rom. in pace viveret. Verum causa nondum cecidimus; conjungamus mutuas operas, vires et arma, tunc facile poterimus illos exstirpare. Ad hunc finem nisi omnia nostra consilia et actiones direxerimus, periculum est, ne nobis idem quod intendimus, faciant, et in foveam, quam paramus hæreticis, ipsi nostra negligentia incidamus. Hospinian. Hist. Jesuit. Tigur. (lib. iv. de doct. Jes.) Rom. 1619. 213 *b*.

caverns of the earth; it is the greatest wonder of all, that every day, all things are not in a conflagration.[1]

4. That sundry of our Separation have been thus acted, hath been often among us in fact deprehended, together with the confessions of those who have been both actors, and acted by them: which is matter of such known discovery, that it needs no repetition here: yea, of this sometime they have suspected one another; for one of the Independent[2] Brethren said; "The same spirit," saith he, "which dwells in the Papacy, when it enters into the purer form of Presbytery, as fuller of mystery, so is fuller of despite and danger."[3]

In the late "Morning Exercise against Popery," one saith,[4] The Papacy, together with their religion, have had a party, and kept up an interest among the Protestant Churches. But because the Dissenters love to have it thought, that those of our Church are more guilty herein; as there seems to be insinuated: therefore,

Some further reasons why the Clergy, and faithful Sons of our Church cannot be thought thus concerned in such an eventual conspiracy.

11. Unto all this, if any object, and tell us of the advice of Cardinal Allen to the persons who undertook to reduce Ireland again to Popery:—among other things, they should apply themselves to the Conformists, and possess them with the factiousness, disobedience, and disorders of the Nonconformists, that so they might be provoked to spend their fury on each other to their mutual ruin: we answer; we hope that the Church of England, and her right conformable Clergy, have been so settled by the establishment of our Church, as not to have had their Principles corrupted by Popish influence: as appears, 1: from the constant and stout opposition which Popery hath had from the fathers and sons of our Church. And, 2, in that the many surmises of the contrary, have proved, upon the test, very notoriously foolish and

[1] Excedit profecto omnia miracula, ullum diem fuisse, quo non cuncta conflagrarent: cum specula quoque concava adversa solis radiis facilius etiam accedantur, quam ullus alius ignis.
Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. cxi. (cvii.) Par. 1837. p. 457.

[2] P. Sterry, 5 Nov. 1650.

[3] Inter finitimos vetus atque antiqua simultas.
Juven. xv. 33. ed. Delph. Lond. 1820.

[4] Serm. iv. p. 103. Lond. 1675.

false. Let any of them prove our principles and practices such, as we are able to do theirs, to serve the real interest of Rome.

3. Let them know, that those who have been most violently slandered as favourers of Popery, are known to have done more real and faithful service to the Protestant cause, than all those that have entertained and promoted that rumour have been able to do. I will at present only mention Archbishop Laud, whose labours against Popery, and the other Separation were equally vigilant. Of whom the Letter of Discovery of the Treason against the King and Kingdom, and the Protestant Religion, October, 1640, thus speaks; yet notwithstanding there remained on the King's part a knot hard to be untied; for the Lord Archbishop by his constancy, interposed himself as a hard rock. And yet it was a lamentable hard case, that at the very same time the reproaches and seditions of the people were inflamed against King Charles I. of blessed memory, and Archbishop Laud, under suspicions of their favouring Popery; at the very same time the Jesuits were conspiring the killing of King Charles I. and also Archbishop Laud, and the convulsion of the Kingdom, and the ruin of the Protestant Religion, and introducing of Popery, as appears by the Discovery to Sir William Boswell at the Hague, 1640, and sent over by him to the King and the Archbishop. Even thus hath been the practice of the Romanists, "to slander" Princes also for being "Papists, and then to assassinate them for being too zealous Protestants."[1]

4. Whereas our Enthusiastical friends are ready to object unto us, that the Church of England is either Popish, or in some degree prepared to be so, namely, because she hath Bishops, a Liturgy, and Ceremonies; such might know, if they rightly understood things, even what they object, that these things do most of all oppose Popery; and help to secure us from it. For, episcopacy asserted in our Church, is the greatest opposition to Popery that is; for the very formality of Popery, is the Pope's Jurisdiction over all other Bishops and Churches; which authority of the Pope is nowhere so much contradicted, as by our Episcopacy. To say nothing

[1] The Lord Chancellor's speech, March 6, 167⅞.

what our Bishops undeniably and unanswerably have performed against Popery; it is very well known—what rejoicing that vote "for pulling down Episcopacy" brought to the Romish party; how [even] in Rome itself they sang their Io Pæans upon the tidings thereof, and said, triumphantly, [Now] the day is ours.[1] A Reformed Liturgy as ours is, separated from all popish soil and corruption, must needs be itself the greatest security from Popery; since the want of it tends to bring in the worst part of popery, which is enthusiasm, and fanatical pretences to revelation, and an infallible spirit, as hath been abundantly experienced. Our Ceremonies reformed from all popish reasons and ends of their institution, are useful to defend Christianity from superstition; using people to apprehend, that Christian religion consists, neither in their necessary use, nor in their being necessarily refused; either of which is an equal infringing of Christian liberty. Much more might be added in defence of what is appointed in our Church, as the marks and bounds of a moderate Reformation; and do afford a better apology and defence against the Romanists, in the judgment of the General Church, than they can have who fix upon false principles, and therefore may the more easily be turned unto the opposite extreme: whereas the true Moderation of our Church gives her establishment against each opposite errors. Yea, it is manifest that our Church of England thus retaining episcopal government, and a well-reformed Liturgy, and while it observes Christian Festivals, and a moderate outward decency in the Church of God, as did the Churches of Christ in the primitive times, hath a fairer plea and foundation of argument, to invite and persuade any from Romish corruption, than a Dissenter who will tell such a one, that all that is Popery: which account of things may presently beat him back, and make him conclude, that Protestants call that Popery, which in the purest and most primitive times, was practised in all Christian Churches in the world. Whereas how easy a thing is it for a Popish Priest to turn himself into a gifted brother: and what opinion is there of the Romanists, which may not come forth as a new light? So that it was no ill

[1] Bp. Sanderson's Pref. to Sermon xviii. Lond. 1657.

character of a schismatic, "he is a Papist turned wrong side outward."

An easy divination of the consequences of these things, if a due sense of these matters be rejected, when so fairly and often recommended to the common notice of all, with a sincere and affectionate close to such as this Address most doth concern.

12. Wherefore an easy prudence—which is a perpetual kind of divination[1]—may readily foresee how soon, if occasion present, those parties so seemingly opposite will close, even more certainly than they themselves are aware of: for men of wrong principles know not where to find themselves after awhile, especially in changeable times, because they know not where their principles will lead them: in the meanwhile such as hold a stedfast communion with our Church, must needs be the most firm Protestants of any; because they follow the moderation of the Church itself: for truth is ever found among the modest, who never affect utmost extremes, which the vulgar (of which our Dissenters consist) so passionately and hastily run into. Wherefore among the "Considerations touching the true way to suppress Popery in this kingdom,"[2] it was well laid down, "The best way for the suppressing of Popery in this kingdom, is to get our Church to be better understood." And indeed if all who call themselves Protestants, of what denomination soever, understood their own interest, they must needs be for upholding our Church of England: for if it be overthrown, it must either be, 1. by divisions, (and certainly the watchful adversaries of Rome will chiefly make their game by them, whose business is to promote them.) "If our Divisions prevail," the Romanists will "prevail" also:[3] or, 2. by toleration, by which the same Romanists will obtain but an opportunity openly, and, as it were, by authority to divide and work their wills, which without a toleration they only dare attempt secretly: or, 3. by setting one of the Dissenting parties uppermost. But they all have given such proof of their rigour already, that all other parties will think themselves equally grieved then; and

[1] Μάντις ἄριστος ὅστις εἰκάζει καλῶς. Proverbialis senarius, qui sic apud Ciceronem redditur, Bene qui conjicit, hunc vatem perhibeto optimum. [Cic. de Div. ii. 12.]

[2] [Bp. W. Lloyd. Lond. 1677. pp. 132, 133.]

[3] Thorndike (H.) Forbearance, or the Penalties, &c. ch. vii. p. 37. Lond. 1670.

the cry for toleration will continue to be as loud: and they can never expect from any Constitution, more moderation than what our present Establishment affords. Therefore all that love Moderation, and are afraid of Popery, ought to be solicitous for the welfare of the Church of England, as it is now settled.

And now I have said thus much—and more may be said on this head, if this be not enough, to convince any who are sincerely dispassionate,—I may appeal to all the world of the truth of what hath been said, with no design to reproach any one's persons, or incense any one's spirit, but in the real spirit of meekness, and most affectionate regard to such who are wrought upon to be of another mind; most heartily wishing and praying, that all who are sincere in this nation, would at length be awakened, to see from whence our divisions generally proceed; who they are who have nourished, and cherished, and increased our flames, and cast their wild-fires among us: by whom our Dissenters have been acted, and managed, and chiefly made to be what they are: that thus far may suffice them to have been gulled to other purposes than they themselves have known; that those who are honest-hearted, may be truly ashamed and convinced, and see their error, and may repent and return into reconciliation to an excellent Church, whom they have forsaken, and endeavoured, with common enemies, to destroy. Oh that at length they may see their folly, and their imprudence, and may make some amends, by continuing hereafter more stedfast to our communion, for the sake of no less than the Christian Religion, unto which hath been given so great a scandal; and for the honour of our excellent Reformation; which, because of its moderation, and excellent temper, is really the terror of the Roman Church: and God grant it may long, long so continue!

CHAPTER XVIII.

OF THE MODERATION OF OUR CHURCH, AS IT MAY INFLUENCE CHRISTIAN PRACTICE, AND ESPECIALLY OUR UNION.

Some proper inferences from what hath been insisted on at large.

1. 1. As from the very being of moderation and equity, we are certain that the nature of absolute good and evil, just and unjust, doth not depend upon the arbitrary power of any, but is founded in the nature of things and circumstances (or else the assertion of equity would be very ridiculous); so we are sure, from what hath been largely declared, (especially by comparing other extremes,) that our Church of England is far from designing to use or encourage any arbitrary or rigorous way of administration, which is contrary to the measures of natural justice or Christianity.

2. As from the nature of moderation it hath appeared, that benevolence is the true fountain of equity, and answers the most general law of nature, giving the best end and measure to all actions (especially which have any influence on the public); which causeth laws themselves to bend, by all gentleness and benignity, to the general design of all public and private endeavours, which ought to be the glory of God, and peace and good-will to men: so we hope from the foregoing instances, it appears also, that a benevolous inclination is implanted into the very frame and temper of our Church's constitution: and that from such a principle it pursues the excellent ends mentioned; not only according to the rules of natural justice, but the most fair and equal measures of gentleness also and benignity. Wherefore it concerns us all, who live where the laws of the kingdom and the church are framed and interpreted according to this equity, to acknowledge so great a blessing. The same consideration aggravates the unreasonableness of those who pursue their own preju-

dices, contrary to what is appointed even so equitably and moderately. And it is heartily to be wished, that the opposers of our Church could give any such testimonies of their moderation as our Church hath done: let any if they can, Romanist or Separatist, (of any particular denomination whatsoever, as they are generally known among us,) shew as much proof and instance of their moderation, as I have done of our Church.

2. But as in our first chapter we laid down some general rules, which are agreeable to natural justice and goodness, and also unto Christianity, by which we are directed to judge the more truly of the moderation[1] of our Church: so I conceive there are some such rules also alike agreeable to the same principles, by which the moderation of private persons may very equitably be judged.

Sundry general rules agreeable to Reason and Christianity by which the Moderation of private persons may be measured anddirected, particularly of our dissenting brethren.

1. It may be supposed very agreeable to the rule of moderation, not to expect or require of an Establishment, what is utterly impossible in this world; namely, absolute perfection: and for any to withhold their obedience, so long as they conceive some things may be better, cannot but be concluded very unreasonable. Here it is but just to note of our Church: That she never pretended of herself (nor any I know of, for her) that she was, or is, so perfect as to be without spot or wrinkle;[2] as the Brethren in their Morning Lecture against Popery deliver; "there is no Church under Heaven perfectly beautiful; that remains for glory[3] [when Christ will present her to himself without spot or wrinkle"]. Although we say our Church hath a most excellent temper, it is not necessary we attribute to her what some call *(temperamentum ad pondus,)* such a temperament, that no scruple, one way or other, can alter her

[1] Et sane nihil est tam præclarum aut tam magnificum quod non moderatione temperari desideret.

Valer. Max. de animi Moder. lib. iv. cap. i. Lips. 1782.

[2] Ultra etiam progreditur eorum morositas et fastus, quia Ecclesiam non agnoscunt nisi minimis quibusque nævis puram, imo probis doctoribus succensent, quia fideles ad profectum hortando, tota vita sub vitiorum onere gemere doceant, et ad veniam confugere.

Calv. Inst. lib. iv. cap. i. § 20. Genev. 1609.

[3] Morning Exercise agt. Pop. Serm. xxv. pp. 870, 871. Lond. 1675.

poise. I hope from what hath been shewed, it may appear that the possible imperfections are in nowise so great as sundry would suppose: however, not in matters of any principal moment or concern to religion.

2. It is but very agreeable to the rules of moderation, that such as require moderation so desirously, should give very good example of their own moderation themselves: and should also lay aside their own rigours, in unjust and severe thoughts, harsh words, and immoderate actings; and not make those rules the measure of their moderation, which are just proofs of their rigour: for I suppose the observation of King Charles I. is a famous truth; "I see" no men so "prone to be greater tyrants, and more rigorous exacters upon others to conform to their illegal novelties, than such, whose pride was formerly least disposed to the obedience of lawful constitutions."[1] And even in the Liberty of Prophesying, the libertines themselves are most truly described;[2] "they who were perpetually clamorous, that the severity of the laws should slacken as to their particular, and in matter adiaphorous (in which, if the Church have any authority, she hath power to make" such "laws) to indulge a leave to them to do as they list,—yet were the most imperious among men, most decretory in their sentences, and most impatient of any disagreeing from them, though in the least minute and particular."

3. If any do conceive the Church defective in some particular, (especially when few will deny but the principal and substantial things are not wanting,) Christian moderation requires all to supply any such supposed defects as much as they can by such a Christian charity[3] as thinketh, hopeth, believeth the best, especially of their governors; and renders all persons suspicious of their own judgments, and docible and humble in disposition and behaviour. And while they charge the Church with being in some things deficient, in

[1] Εἰκ. Βασιλ. § 16. 1648.

[2] Bp. Jer. Taylor. Works, Lond. 1828. vol. viii. sect. xvii. 6.

[3] Misericorditer igitur corripiat homo quod potest: quod autem non potest, patienter ferat, et cum dilectione gemat atque lugeat, donec aut ille desuper emendet et corrigat, aut usque ad messem differat eradicare zizania et paleam ventilare. Aug. contr. Parm. epist. lib. iii. cap. 2. Basil. 1542.

others superfluous; they ought to have the more care not to add thereunto their own faults in the same kind, as being deficient in their duty, or superfluous in such exceptions as generally are so frivolous.

4. It is most agreeable to the rules of moderation, that those who are so earnest to have still more moderation allowed them, should first acknowledge such moderation and indulgence as they have received; and also should take care that the same miss not of its desired and promised effects from them. Wherefore what the Bishops told the Presbyterian Brethren, was but a very moderate admonition; "We conceive the most real expression of their thankfulness for his Majesty's most princely condescension, had been a hearty compliance with his Majesty's most earnest and passionate request for the use of the present Liturgy, at least so much of it as they acknowledge by these Papers to be lawful." Such also should readily and thankfully own whatsoever is good in the establishment which is over them, and the real benefits and blessings which all do and may enjoy. And since there are such instances and proofs of the moderation of our church, Christian moderation will also govern any, who are concerned in this matter, well to understand and consider such proofs, and acknowledge what is true in them.

5. It is but according to Christian moderation, that a special respect and regard be had to a reformed settled establishment as ours is, which is in possession[1] of its authority. Christian moderation will dispose such well to consider how far they ought to bear against their own inclination, before they offer at the violation of the sacred peace of God's Church. Christian moderation will instruct any one, that exemption from obedience ought to be as clear as the command to obey.[2]

[1] In pari causa possessor potior haberi debet.
Corpus Jur. Civ. lib. l. tit. 17. l. 128. tom. i. p. 50. Amstel. 1663.

[2] Porro imperfecti cordis, et infirmæ prorsus voluntatis indicium est, statuta seniorum studiosius discutere, hærere ad singula quæ injunguntur, exigere de quibusque rationem, et male suspicari de omni præcepto, cujus causa latuerit; nec unquam libentur obedire, nisi cum audire contigerit quod forte libuerit, aut quod non aliter licere seu expedire monstraverit vel aperta ratio vel indubitata auctoritas.
Bern. de præcepto et dispensat. lib. i. cap. x. col. 509. tom. i. Par. 1690.

Such ought moderately to consider of the danger they threaten all Government, (Civil and Ecclesiastical,) and also the interest especially of the Reformation, who are so industrious to overthrow such an Establishment as ours is, upon these kind of dissatisfactions.

6. Christian moderation doth certainly govern all to use the same measures of practice for themselves and others,—that is, to do as they would be done by.[1] Suppose therefore that any platform the exceptors against our Church propose, was settled according to their own fancy; they ought to consider, whether they would endure to be reproached, resisted, disobeyed after such an establishment was made. They who have used sundry significant ceremonies themselves, (as were used in taking the Covenant,) should not be so violent against all ceremony: they who are against all Jewish usages, ought to have a care of judaizing: they who are zealous against Popery, ought to have a care themselves both lest they run into Popery, and lest they be carried thereinto however imprudently and unwarily: they who could be forward to appoint Fasting-days, and days of Thanksgiving, upon accounts not so justifiable, ought not to be against all our lawful and appointed Fasts and Festivals: they who have made it the chief of their exception against our monarchy formerly, that it made void Acts of Parliament by prerogative, (when it did not,) should not be so earnest, that the same be done for the sake of Papists and themselves: they who would not have the miscarriages of some particular brethren charged on their party, or themselves; ought, by the same rule, to have a care that they never charge our Church with the faults of some particular persons of our communion; making those the vices of our constitution, which are only the faults of some persons, which will be in the world so long as there are men; happy is it, where there are fewest. The same equity also which our Church sheweth unto others, she may justly expect to receive: namely, to "be allowed such just and favourable construction as in common equity ought to be

[1] Non debet alteri per alterum iniqua conditio inferri.
Corp. Jur. Civ. lib. l. tit. 17. l. 74. p. 793. Amstel. 1663.

allowed to all human writings, especially such as are set forth by authority."[1]

7. Christian moderation will govern any, when they have experienced an evil, not to run into the same again. They, therefore, who have seen that the consequences of their own principles have proved worse than before they apprehended; and that such immoderate zeal as their own, hath been made use of to other purposes than they were aware; and have seen and felt the horrid effects of confusion, occasioned from such exceptions as these, which are so busy now against our Church; by the rules of true moderation, ought to acknowledge the same constantly, and to have a diligent care lest they split again upon the same rocks. This Christian moderation will help any for avoiding one extreme from running unto another:[2] because they detest papal tyranny, they will not therefore reject episcopacy: because of some defect in discipline, they will not therefore run into a culpable separation: because some are careless in their prayers, they will not therefore reject all forms as unlawful: because of the imperfection of all forms of government, therefore they will not conclude monarchy sinful: because some set up the doctrine of merit, they will not therefore think good works needless to salvation: because too many neglect the vow they made in their baptism, therefore they will not deny infant-baptism: because in Popery there are such heaps of fopperies, therefore what was really good among them must not for their sakes be condemned: because what was typical of Christ under the Old Testament is abolished by our Christianity, therefore other moral and useful usages which were among the Jews are not to be thought unlawful.

For many are forward to cry out of sundry appointments among us as Jewish: as the use of churches, music, separate persons, places, and things for the holy service of God; churching of women; tithes; holy-days and times; decent vestments, &c.: wherein our Church useth its Christian

[1] Pref. to the Liturgy.

[2] In vitium ducit culpæ fuga, si caret arte.
Horat. Ars Poet. 31. ed. Delph. Lond. 1825.

liberty to take or leave such institutions as are free for us, the reason remaining generally the same to us, and them, and others. Yet (which is contrary to the rule of right reason and due moderation) the very same persons—where the reason remains not the same to Jews and Christians, but quite contrary—are apt to judaize in practice properly Mosaical, and which were shadows of good things to come.[1]

8. Because the precepts we meet with in the New Testament concerning moderation, condescension, bearing infirmities, are plainly given to private persons, and many times in relation to their own passions, and with a clear reference to their having not as yet time or opportunity of being sufficiently instructed; therefore all good Christians are to have a care lest any indisposition or ill temper of mind or fancy prevail with them against a positive and certain duty; which is a rule of true moderation.

9. As Christian moderation guides and inclines us, with all compassion and affection, to pity the seduced, whose education and company, and the authority of those they admire (too blameably, notwithstanding), governs their weakness into dislike of what is publicly ordered: (however, with meekness we desire to instruct such who oppose themselves, if God peradventure will give them repentance to the acknowledgment of the truth:)—so for such who are driven aside by interest, love of faction, or other corrupt designs; albeit we grieve for them, and pray for their better mind: yet it is no breach of Christian moderation, if,—for the peace of the Church, for the honour of the laws, for the safety of others, and that all their souls may be saved in the day of the Lord,—we do wish the censures of the Church in full force and vigour, for their seasonable reducement and emendation.

[2 Tim. ii. 25.]

10. True moderation which governs itself according to truth, will not suffer any to pretend to that union among themselves, which really they know they have not: I think nothing might help some to a sense of their unreasonable opposition to the Church of England, and their unadvisedness therein, more than if they themselves would please to reflect

[1] Compassionate Enquiry: p. 69. [vid. Goodman.]

on the variety and contradiction which is among themselves one to another;[1] however all Dissenters would seem to be united in the great numbers every party boasts of.

But because it is impossible to comprehend the variety of all sects; look we for instance but upon the Presbyterian Brethren, and see among them the mild and the rigid; and the subdivision of these into sundry classes and forms of them. Some have professed they adhere to the Scripture, and the catholic consent of antiquity, as described by Vincentius Lirinensis:[2] whether others prefer the judgment of one of the masters of their assemblies equal to most of the ancient Fathers, I should not offend many of them to declare. Some take it for granted "there is a firm agreement between us in doctrinal truths of the Reformed religion expressed in the Articles and Homilies:"[3] others contend for a necessity of Reformation, even of the doctrine of the church of England. Some among them hold our Liturgy unlawful; others only inexpedient: some not inexpedient in some offices, but in others: others can join with all our forms of Liturgy, but cannot use them. Some could use them, "if there was a convenient conjunction of the Liturgy mixed with their own conceptions interposed, which they have thought would be a well-tempered means, to the common constitution of most."[4] Some can use them, but not subscribe them: others can subscribe to the use, but not assent and consent to the use of them. Some who will not themselves consent, are content their sons should be brought up to be wiser: others, when they advise or give leave to any to conform, gravely desire them to do it as their burden. Some brethren of the same denomination among themselves, disapprove of those very offices and constitutions which others of them allow, and yet like others better: insomuch that we may count those

[1] Summus utrinque
Inde furor vulgo, quod numina vicinorum,
Odit uterque locus, quum solos credat habendos
Esse Deos, quos ipse colit.
Juv. xv. 35—38. ed. Delph. Lond. 1820.

[2] Grand Debate, p. 61.

[3] 1. Paper to his Majesty.

[4] Grand Debate, p. 61.

who are satisfied, to oppose the dissatisfied (in many things) among themselves.

So concerning Ceremonies, the Presbyterian brethren, while they do not deny their practice to be lawful, they declare of others,[1] "Some think them flatly unlawful, some inconvenient: some think them unlawful in themselves, and others but inconvenient. Thus in the Nosotrophium of the old philosopher, who undertook to cure all calentures by bathing patients under water; some were up to the chin, some to the middle, some to the knees; so it is amongst the enemies of the sacred order of Episcopacy: some endure not the name; and they indeed deserve to be over head and ears. Some will have them all one in office with Presbyters, as they first were in name, and they had need bathe up to the chin: but some stand shallower, and grant a little distinction; a precedency perhaps for order-sake; but no pre-eminence in regiment, no superiority in jurisdiction. Others by all means would be thought to be quite through in behalf of bishops' order and power, such as it is; but call for a reduction to the primitive state, and would have all bishops like the primitive: but because by this means they think to impair their power, they may endure to be up to their ankles: their error indeed is less, and their pretence fairer; but the use they make of it of very ill consequence. Thus those who are for parity in the Church have great disparities, and very disproportionate measures in their own immoderations, in many other matters, as well as these mentioned. [2] You may as well think to make a coat for the moon, as was the phrase of the Presbyterian brethren, as reconcile most of them one to another: who since they are so inconsistent among themselves, are less to be credited against the Church. And here it might also be proved at large, how the most of the dissenting brethren, of the same denomination, often change many of their principles within a few years; especially the Dissenters of the former times seemed to have a greater sense of the Moderation of our Church, and used a fairer compliance, than many have done since under greater indulgence, for

[1] 2. Paper to his Majesty.

[2] Grand Debate, p. 91.

they came generally to our Common Prayers, and Holy Sacraments: to say nothing of other differences, which will not please our brethren to mention, as well as they love the old Nonconformists. As to those among us who are most moderate, it may be wished they will afford their own example in what they allow in discourse; and that they would labour as effectually to prevail on those who depend on their judgments and example.

Some proper means to reduce Dissenters into Union with the Church, with all moderation proposed.

3. Whereas many of our Dissenting brethren profess they desire the interest of Jesus Christ may be promoted, and that sanctity of life, and the pure worship of God, and the communion of saints, and the edification of the Church, and the Reformed Protestant Religion, may be maintained and increased; and in all debates they appeal to the Holy Scriptures; and many of them say they are desirous to rectify mistakes, and to lay aside all prejudice, and passion, and partiality; and profess they desire their judgments and practices may be guided in the ways of truth and peace;—supposing all this, if we meet with such as will admit what follows into fair consideration, I should think it the most proper means by some such degrees as follow to bring them, if it be possible, to understand the good constitution of things among us: 1. by letting such, by clear instances, see how immoveably we hold the faith and doctrine of Christ delivered in Holy Scripture; which together with the whole Church of God, the Church of England doth keep inviolably, witness unto them faithfully, and so constantly appeal to, as the only perfect rule of faith and manners. (v. Chap. iv.) 2. Since the best and most useful sort of moderation, is that which governs us as we ought, in the real practice of virtue and goodness, whereunto tend all the moderation of the laws, and the doctrine and discipline of God's Church; yet (which is a lamentable thing to consider) this is most silently passed over, and scarce known by the name, at that same time that a huge clamour is raised among us for moderation in Religion; in which, all that are concerned may know and understand, that the great design and desire of our Church is to promote holiness of life. Among us, all may not only be as holy as they will, but that they may be so, they are assisted

and encouraged most earnestly, by the Laws, and Constitutions, and Offices, and Councils of our Church, which if they were rightly understood, would be known uniformly to tend to no less. 3. Such may consider that all the appointed means of grace and salvation, are by our Church publicly and amply taken care of, as duly and effectually as may be. 4. In a Church where substantial piety is so truly procured throughout the whole constitution, it might at least mitigate the great offence taken to consider (what is more largely shewed Chap viii.)—that our Church never did own her very few ceremonies any more than accidental and mutable circumstances, for order and comeliness sake; but never asserted them any essential or necessary part of God's worship. Such may also consider the rules of reasonable behaviour and submission to the Church; as are moderately laid down Chap. vi. § 10. 5. Because our Dissenters, by their dividing from us, seem to endanger very much the interest of the Reformed Religion, which they appear so zealous to uphold; let them be pleased to consider the real danger of their being acted by Romish agents and incendiaries, while they take the second direct course to destroy this reformed Establishment among us; as is more particularly considered in Chap. xvii. 6. Such may do well to consider truly, those easy and proper consequences which follow the consideration of the Church being a Society, with relation to a Christian kingdom as ours is; from whence sundry special obligations may be inferred, to bind every one who calls himself Christian, to maintain the peace and union of such a society; especially if we look on the Church as a society formed by God himself: and therefore common Christians are not to look upon themselves as spiritual governors, as if they had any power in themselves to constitute new bounds, or new extents, to its being or authority: but are to think they have an easier and safer task, quietly to accept and obey that which is constituted by lawful authority, in all things not repugnant to the revealed will of God.

And since every one's being of the Church doth suppose their duty to communicate in those Sacraments and holy Offices, which are appointed as a public sign before God and man, that we do confess Christ Jesus; and is an evidence of our

holding communion with God's Church, and that we are obedient to the laws of this society, and the government thereof, in that fixed part of the church we live in; it follows that we are obliged unto the peace of this church by the intent of our baptismal vow, when we were incorporated as members of Christ's Body, the Church: and we are bound to maintain the same peace of this society of the Church, as we live in a Christian kingdom where the religion of the kingdom is so great a part of its laws. Upon which account schism renders the safety of kingdoms very hazardous; beside that it looseth the bands of all friendship, sacred and civil, and breeds enmity among nearest relations and neighbours: it tends exceedingly to the dishonour of the public laws, and opens a gap to the most dissolute, making void the exercise and effect of the discipline of the Church upon the scandalous; which otherwise to the profane world would prove terrible, as an army with banners: it is the only way any can take, to destroy all being of a visible church; to corrupt her doctrine, and destroy her power; and is so great a sin as martyrdom itself cannot expiate it: such do as much as they can to make void the design of our blessed Saviour; who died, that he might "gather into one the children of God that" are "scattered abroad." The night before our Lord was betrayed, when he instituted the sacrament of unity, how fervently did he pray for the peace of the Church! "Holy Father, keep through thy own Name, those whom thou hast given me, that they may be one, as I am one:"—"that they also may be one in us, that the world may believe that thou hast sent me:" whereas these schisms which we have, tend to weaken or take away the greatest outward witness we have of the truth of holy Scriptures, and of our very Christianity; namely, the testimony of God's Church from the beginning; and do expose our most excellent religion, to the contempt and entertainment of Atheists. The sad account for which let them beware of, who make it their idle business, to defame the Church in her holy Offices, and alienate all whom they can from her Communion. Let them pretend what they will in the meantime to intimate communion with God, they indeed take away the unity of the Church as much as in them lies, but in effect

St. John xi. 52.

St. John xvii. 11.

ver. 21.

they take it away from themselves; and they cut themselves off from communion with the rest of the body: and by being dissevered from the body, how it is possible they should retain communion with the head of that body, God only knows, to whose infinite mercy we leave them.

It is seriously and heartily to be wished, that the duty and benefits of communion with the Church, were duly considered by all; and the many more grievous mischiefs of schism than have been here mentioned: and, in reference to our Church of England in particular, as certainly her moderation is a great aggravation of the schisms which are; so I suppose it a most true observation, and deserves the common consent of all, that the only reason why our Church is not more generally embraced and admired, is, because the purity of its doctrine, the sobriety of its devotion, the moderation of its discipline, the largeness of its charity, are not impartially and calmly examined, and more generally understood.

Wherefore we wish that by God's grace working love in all the hearts of those who do not understand and consider so much; they would yet consent to what the peaceful and holy Nazianzen[1] declares in one of his Orations of Peace: "Thus," saith he, "I resolve, it is not good to be more indifferent than is meet, nor too hot; either through levity to be carried about with every one, nor by disorder to separate from all: when the manifest things of wickedness require our com-

[1] Εἰ δὲ δεῖ συντόμως διελέσθαι περὶ αὐτῶν, δυτως γινώσκω, δυτε θερμότερον, ἀς ἡ δι' εὐκολίαν πᾶσι συμφέρεσθαι, ἢ δι' ἀπαξίαν πάντων ἀποστατεῖν. Ὁμοίως γὰρ, καὶ τὸ νωθὲς, ἄπρακτον, καὶ τὸ εὐκίνητον ἀκοινώνητον· ἀλλ' οὐ μὲν ἂν ᾖ πρόδηλα τὰ τῆς ἀσεβείας, καὶ πυρὶ, καὶ σιδήρῳ, καὶ καιροῖς καὶ δυνάσταις, καὶ πᾶσι πρόσεσον ὁμόσε χάρητέον, ἢ τῆς ξύμης μεθεκτέον τῆς πονηρᾶς, καὶ συγκαθετέον τοῖς κακῶς ἔχουσι.....οὗ δὲ τὸ λυποῦν, ὑποψια καὶ φόβος ἀνεξέτασπος βελτίων τοῦ τάχους ἡ μακροθυμία, καὶ τῆς αἰθαδείας ἡ συγκατάβασις· καὶ πολλῷ κρεῖττον καὶ λυσιτελέστερον, ἐν τῷ κοινῷ σωματι μένοντας, καταρτίζειν ἀλλήλους ὡς ἀλλήλων μέλη, καὶ καταρτίζεσθαι, ἢ προκαταγνόντας διὰ τῆς ἀποστάσεως, καὶ τὸ ἀξιόπιστον τῷ χωρισμῷ λύσαντας, ἔπειτα ἐξ ἐπιτάγματος, ὅσπερ τυράννους, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀδελφοὺς, νομοθετεῖν τὴν διόρθωσιν. Ταῦτα εἰδότες, ἀδελφοὶ, περιλάβωμεν ἀλλήλους, περιπτυξώμεθα, γενώμεθα γνησίως ἕν, μιμησώμεθα τὸν τὸ μεσότοιχον τοῦ φραγμοῦ λύσαντα, καὶ διὰ τοῦ αἵματος αὐτου πάντα συναγαγόντα, καὶ εἰρηνεύσαντα· ἕπωμεν τῷ κοινῷ πατρὶ τούτῳ, τῇ σέμνῃ πολιᾷ, τῷ πράῳ καὶ ἡπίῳ ποιμένι, Ὁρᾷς τὰ ἐπίχειρα τῆς ἐπιεικείας; ἆρον κύκλῳ τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς σου, καὶ ἴδε ἐπισυνηγμένα τὰ τέκνα σου ὃν τρόπον ἐπόθεις, καὶ ὃ προστεθῆναι σοι μόνον ᾐτοῦ, νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας.

Greg. Nazianz. Orat. I. de Pace. Lutet. Par. 1609. p. 204.

pliance, then we are to contest with fire and sword rather than partake of their leaven; but when only a suspicion of evil seizeth on our minds, then moderation and condescension are more advisable, rather than make a separation from others we relate unto as members. Wherefore let us embrace each other, and be sincerely one, and imitate our blessed Mediator, who by his blood hath reconciled all things, and made peace: let us say to our common Father, Behold thy sons gathered into One." Unto which I must add what the same Father from those dissensions which were in the Church did conceive, namely, a great dread, "lest thereby Antichrist[1] should come upon them on sudden, taking advantages of their discord." It would be well if modest and quiet persons could at length be convinced of the happiness of having and holding to a rule:[2] and what a blessing it is, to have every thing for their spiritual use so readily, and so well prepared to their hand: and admit (which we are in nowise forced here to affirm) that sundry orders might be much better; "Nevertheless whereunto we have already attained, let us walk by the same rule, let us mind the same thing." "In [such] matters of indifferency, the best way of cementing[3] the fractions, is, [to] unite the parts in the authority: for then the question is but one, namely, whether the authority shall be obeyed or not."[4]

Phil. iii. 16.

Methinks the interest of the Christian religion, to free it from so great a scandal; the honour of the kingdom, and their native country; and the laws, and the private interest of themselves and their families, (where greater interest and

[1] Δέδοικα μὴ καπνὸς ᾖ τοῦ προσδοκωμένου πυρὸς τὰ παρόντα, μὴ τούτοις ὁ ἀντίχριστος ἐπίατῃ, καὶ καιρὸν λάβῃ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ δυναστείας τὰ ἡμέτερα πτάισματά τε καὶ ἀῤῥωστήματα.

Ejusd. Orat. III. de Pace. ibid. p. 218.

[2] Pulchrum est igitur tenere mensuram officii.

Ambros. de offic. lib. i. cap. x. ad fin. Par. 1609.

[3] Fracturam vero ligamen astringit, cum culpam disciplina deprimit:..... Sed sæpe deterius frangitur cum fractura incaute colligatur, ita ut gravius scissuram sentiat, si hanc immoderatius ligamenta constringant:..... Inter hæc solicita circumspectione providendum, ne aut districtio rigida, aut pietas sit remissa.

Greg. Mag. de cura past. in part. ii. cap. vi. Par. 1705. p. 23 B.

[4] Bp. Jer. Taylor's Libert. of Prophes. § xvii. 6. vol. viii. Lond. 1828.

engagement with a party and prejudices do not hinder,) should prevail at length with more to embrace the reconciliation of the Church: which the best and wisest every where have done, convinced of the moderation of our Church: and the rest remain so divided and shattered among themselves, only united by their common prejudice against the Church; having had their mouths over and over stopped by solid arguments, and a palpable demonstration of their falsities and incongruities, which have been posted up to the world, to their unanswerable conviction: or else they have been laughed out of their ridiculous follies, by them who have had a laudable art in so doing.[1]

The hearty profession of the moderate and sincere purposes of the Writer.

4. And indeed since the Church of England suffers so exceedingly, between such extreme adversaries, (which hath been a great proof of her great moderation,) no wonder if such as desire to maintain the even tenour of uniform principles, partake of the same hard measure with our Church:[2] wherefore for our calmly defending what is real moderation, we may surely expect to be accused as immoderate, and to be suspected by either extreme of the number of their opposite adversaries, against which chance perhaps there is no remedy: wherefore, the sincerity of our purpose and the goodness of our cause, we hope, will support us; for it is enough for the disciple, that he be as his Master, and the servant as his Lord. Blessed be God we have yet the advantage of so excellent a Reformed Church on our side: so the worthy Translators of the English Bible, in their epistle to King James, comforted themselves; "If, on the one side, we shall be traduced by Popish persons;—or if, on the other side, we shall be maligned by self-conceited brethren, who run their own ways, and give liking unto nothing but what is framed by themselves, and hammered on their anvil; we may rest secure, supported [within] by the truth and innocency of a good conscience."

For my own part, I profess myself a lover and admirer of

[1] Ingenuo culpam defigere ludo.
Persius. V. 16. ed. Delph. Lond. 1820.

[2] Τὰ δὲ μέσα τῶν πολιτῶν ὑπ' ἀμφοτέρων, ἢ ὅτι ξυνηγωνιζοντο, ἢ φθόνῳ του περιεῖναι, διεφθείροντο. Thucyd. III. κεφ. πβ. Lips. 1825. vol. ii.

true Moderation; and I hope I have observed the due measures of it,[1] in what I have writ, with relation to either extreme. And here I crave leave to repeat the dying words of the Right Reverend Bishop Sanderson, and to use them solemnly as my own; "As I do profess that [as] I have lived, so I desire, and (by the grace of God) resolve to die, in the communion of the catholic Church of Christ, and a true son of the Church of England; which, as it stands by law established, to be both in doctrine and worship agreeable to the word of God, and in the most [and most] material points of both, conformable to the faith and practice of the godly church[es] of Christ in the primitive and purer times, I do firmly believe: led so to do, not so much from the force of custom and education, (to which the greatest part of mankind owe their particular different persuasions [in point] of religion,) as upon the clear evidence of truth and reason, after a serious and unpartial examination of the grounds, as well as of Popery as Puritanism, according to that measure of understanding, and those opportunities which God hath afforded me: and herein I am abundantly satisfied, that the schism which the Papists on [the] one hand, the superstition which the Puritan on the other hand, lay to our charge; are very justly chargeable [up]on themselves respectively."[2]

It is the Church of England in its legal constitution, which I defend, and not the assertions and practices of particular persons: neither have I undertaken to commend the Church in all her equal Constitutions, nor shewn all the proportions and instances of her moderation: neither have I illustrated the same from all the extremes and immoderate extravagances of other professions in religion, which would have been a boundless and an infinite task: but if I have made out this excellent virtue to be truly conspicuous in our church: if I have fairly wrested out of our adversary's hands that glorious calumny, in which so many have cheered

[1] Moderatus sum ipse mihi quantum licuit, et non quod ipsi de nobis meruerint, sed quid nostros homines deceat, spectavi.
Matth. Sutliv. de Monachis. Lond. 1600. Præf. p. 1.

[2] Walton (Izaak) Life of Dr. Sanderson. Lond. 1678.

and vaunted themselves, in their fond hopes, strange demands, and very dismantled confidences, that our church is devoid of all true moderation; I am sure I have done reason to our most indulgent mother to defend her from the imputation of unjust rigour, which our Church justly disdains; as in her tenth Canon, "Whosoever shall affirm that [this] their pretended" (schismatical) "church hath a long time groaned under the burden of certain grievances imposed upon" them "by the Church of England,—let them be excommunicate."

One or two caveats entered, to prevent mistake; and for the caution of such as will attempt to disprove the main Proposition here designed to be evinced.

5. But whereas some forward to censure, will be apt to judge of our justifying the moderation of the Church as an endeavour to prevent any reformation or union; such may consider, that, admit our superiors should think fit to remit, or at any time change any thing in our present order; the so doing doth not necessarily infer that our constitution is not very moderate as it is: for, concessions which are for future, ought not to be an accusation of the Church in what is past. But may our sins never bring upon us such a wretched condition of the Church, when every one shall judge he hath a right to think and speak in religion what he pleaseth.[1] Unto this state of things, or unto Popery, those hasten us, (whether they know it or no,) who are in nowise satisfied with the moderation of our church. How far our present establishment may be any way moderated to compass a more general and lasting uniformity, we hope if ever there should be occasion, God will guide our governors to determine; but I am sure, as the present moderation of the Church is most justifiable, so I suppose the change may more easily be allowed, whenever the generality of Dissenters shall be agreed and resolved of their own reasons among themselves. In the meanwhile, if any will undertake to disprove the proposition which this treatise principally doth evince, namely, that the great Moderation of the Church of England doth rightly argue those who are in separation from the same,

[1] In libera repub. unicuique et sentire quæ velit, et quæ sentiat libere dicere. Tractat. Theologo. Pol.

to be the more unjust and guilty in their schism; [1]I hope such will manage their exceptions with respect to the rules of Moderation, especially as they have been laid down in the second paragraph of this Chapter.

Neither I conceive is it enough to excuse their schism, nor to render our church so immoderate, as not to be communicated with, for any to give some instances, which, according to some judgments, they would have otherwise; since it is most impossible to have any constitution of things free from all manner of exception; and also against the most perfect things, great enmities may be raised, for want of equally considering the principles, rules, and ends for which those things were established. Neither is it enough to except against what is faulty in particular persons, when the same is no vice of the public constitution: sure, then, it may be judged a very unreasonable manner of sundry sorts of men answering such discourses as pinch them, namely by catching at some little scattered parts, of the skirts and margent of the cause: or, when they cannot, by unbiassed reasons, have victory in their contest, then they readily fall off to personal matters, which in no sort tend to the merits of any cause: and by these methods they hope to buoy up the party, which is the main thing they generally aim at.

Some good wishes to the Adversaries of our Church on both sides, such as are fit to conclude a Treatise of the Moderation of our Church.

6. Such was the moderation of our church, when she had any hopes to reduce any of the Romish profession unto our communion, she left out of the public Litany that clause, "From the tyranny of the Bishop of Rome, and all his detestable enormities, Good Lord deliver us." Yet it may be very proper, now, to make the same our petition here; adjoining thereunto another seasonable prayer of Isaac Casaubon's; "O Lord Jesu, preserve this Church of England, and give a sound mind to those Nonconformists who deride the rites and ceremonies of it."[2]

[1] Nos qui sequimur probabilia, nec ultra id quod verisimile occurrerit, progredi possumus, et refellere sine pertinacia, et refelli sine iracundia parati sumus. Cic. Tuscul. Quæst. ix. lib. ii. § ii. Par. 1562.

[2] Faxit Deus ut ad saniorem mentem redeant, Amen.

Lud. Capellus. Thes. li. de morosis in Anglia. Salmur.

And since I have named the learned Casaubon, 'tis most suitable here also to add some of his words to King James;[1] "Sir, you have a church in these kingdoms, partly so framed of old, and partly by great labours of late so restored, that now no church whatsoever comes nearer than yours to the form of the primitive flourishing Church, having taken just the middle way between those that offended in excess and defect: in which moderation the Church of England hath obtained this first of all, that those very persons who envied her happiness, yet by comparing one with the other, have been compelled to praise her."

As for any of those who think it their interest to decry the Moderation of our Church; we wish first that the Roman Church would once take advice of her own Cassander,[2] to remit of their immoderate rigour: and hearkening to the admonitions of pious men, would set themselves to correct manifest abuses, according to the rule of divine Scripture, and of the primitive Church, from which they have swerved. And that those of the other extreme would practise the counsel which Calvin[3] gave the English Brethren at Frankfort; "As I would not," saith he, "have you beyond measure rigid; so again, the rest I desire, they will be advised not to please themselves too excessively, in their own ignorance."[4]

[1] Qui Ecclesiam habes in tuis regnis partim jam olim ita institutam, partim magnis tuis laboribus ita instauratam, ut ad florentis quondam Ecclesiæ formam nulla hodie propius accedat quam tua, inter vel excessu vel defectu peccantes mediam viam secuta. Qua moderatione hoc primum assecuta est Ecclesia Anglicana, ut illi ipsi qui suam ei felicitatem invident, sæpe tamen ex aliarum comparatione illam cogantur laudare.

Casaubon. Exercit. in Baron. Ep. Ded. Lond. 1614.

[2] Quare nullam Ecclesiæ firmam pacem sperandam puto, nisi ab iis initium fiat, qui distractionis causam dederunt; hoc est, ut ii qui ecclesiasticæ gubernationi præsunt, de nimio illo rigore aliquid remittant, et Ecclesiæ paci aliquid concedant, &c. Consult. Cassand. ad Artic. vii. p. 56. Lugd. 1608.

[3] Ego vero, si quorundam infirmitas ad summum gradum non conscendat, ut vos ultra modum rigidos esse nolim; ita rursus alios monitos esse cupio, ne sibi in sua inscitia nimis placeant: deinde ne sua pervicacia sancti ædificii cursum retardent. Calvin. Anglis. Francford. Ep. Amst. 1667.

[4] Sed in hoc vicissim peccant illi quos diximus, quod offensioni suæ modum statuere nesciunt. Nam ubi Dominus clementiam exigit, omissa illa, totos se immoderatæ severitati tradunt.

Calvin. Inst. lib. iv. cap. i. § 13. Amst. 1667.

For I suppose, that according to the best reason it may be made out very probable; that as the overthrow of Popery may as probably be wrought by the growth of its own rigour and immoderate claims, as any way we can imagine;[1] so if any thing in the meanwhile endanger the Protestant Reformed interest, it will be the immoderate behaviour of those of the Separation in their schism against our Church. Between both taking auspicious hopes from the moderation of our church; we trust its constitution, being most primitive, will be also most lasting[2] in the esteem of the Church Universal, and in the approbation of wise and good Christians. And while our Church continues thus moderate, it must needs argue the separation which is from it, to be the more unequal and sinful: for, the same moderation which exonerates the Church of England from the guilt of schism with respect to the Romanists, doth aggravate also the schism of other Separatists; and however some Dissenting brethren, while they remain drenched in their tinctures will not be forward to acknowledge the moderation of our church, yet we are assured that nothing would more tend to bring people in love with happy peace and blessed order; nothing would contribute more to the quieting men's minds, to reconcile all parties, and to accommodate the most and greatest differences which are among us, than a right and full persuasion of the excellent temper and constitution of our Church.

I cannot close a Treatise of the Moderation of the Church of England more properly than with some of the mild and pathetical soliloquies of our late blessed martyr King Charles I.

"Most merciful God,[3] stir up [in] all parties pious ambitions, to overcome each other with reason, moderation, and

[1] Credo equidem non alio argumento me validius oppugnaturum præfatum Romanensium dogma [*i. e.* neminem posse vitam æternam obtinere, nisi obedientiam Pontifici Romano præstet. cap. i. tit.], quam si ostendero ab ipsius proseminatione exitium imminere Pontificio imperio.

Andr. Sall Votum pro pace. cap. ii. § 1. p. 4. Oxon. 1678.

[2] Ea enim demum tuta est potentia, quæ viribus suis modum imponit.

Val. Max. de animi moder. lib. iv. cap. i. tom. i. Argentor. 1806.

[3] Εἰκ Βασιλ. § 19. p. 170. 1649.

such self-denial as becomes those who consider, that our mutual divisions are our common distractions, and the union of all is every [good] man's chiefest interest.

"Keep men in" a "pious moderation of their judgments in matters of religion."[1]

Give us wisdom to amend what is amiss within us, and there will be less to mend without us.

Evermore defend and deliver thy Church from the effects of blind zeal, and over-bold devotion.

[Luke ii. 14.] Glory to God in the highest, on earth peace, good will toward men.

[1] Εἰκ Βασιλ. § 16. p. 137. 1649.

*** *The Editor acknowledges, with thanks, much valuable assistance, while searching for difficult references,—from* THE REV. T. HARTWELL HORNE; THE REV. DANIEL CAMPBELL; *(who formerly published an Abridgment of Dr. Puller's work;) and from* MR. GRABHAM, *of the British Museum.*

The following References have, however, eluded the diligent search of the Editor.

p. 4. n. 5, 6.	p. 115. n. 2.	p. 193. n. 4.
11. 1.	120. 2.	223. 1.
38. 3.	134. 1.	226. 4.
40. 2. Turretin.	156. 3. Aug. & R. Jac.	256. 1.
42. 3. S. Clara.	157. 3.	259. 3, 4.
75. 4.	159. 4.	270. 1.
76. 2.	168. 4.	291. 2.
84. 1.	169. 1.	293. 2.
93. 3.	186. 4.	307. 2.
94. 1, 2.	187. 6.	318. 1.
96. 1.	192. 3.	326. 1.

PIGOTT, PRINTER, KENNINGTON-GATE.

Books Published

BY

A. M. PIGOTT,

KENNINGTON PARK CORNER,

AND

13, PATERNOSTER ROW.

THE COPIOUS TUNE-BOOK: a Collection of Psalm and Hymn Tunes, Ancient and Modern, with Words; together with **CHANTS, RESPONSES, &c.**, and an Accompaniment for Organ or Pianoforte. Selected and Arranged by **Dr. BOARDMAN.** Royal 8vo. Second Edition. *7s. 6d.*

GOVERNMENT SITUATIONS HANDBOOK, AND GUIDE TO THE CIVIL SERVICE EXAMINATIONS; containing the requisite Information for all Persons seeking Appointments: including Instructions to Candidates, and Hints to Parents and Heads of Colleges and Schools. By **WILLIAM LYLE,** of thirty years' standing in Her Majesty's Civil Service. Second Thousand. *2s. 6d.*

SHORTHAND HANDBOOK: a very easy way of learning Shorthand. By **WILLIAM LYLE,** Author of "Government Situations Handbook." *2s. 6d.*

JOY FOR THE SORROWFUL; or, Comfort in Sickness, Calamity, and Bereavement: with Passages Introduced and Introductory. By the **Rev. JAMES McCONNEL HUSSEY, M.A.,** Incumbent of Christ Church, North Brixton, and Afternoon Preacher at the Foundling. Second Edition. In cloth, *3s. 6d.*

WOMAN. In Eight Chapters. I. WOMAN "AN HELP MEET FOR MAN."—II. WOMAN'S PROVINCE AND POSITION.—III. WOMAN BENEATH THE CROSS.—IV. WOMAN IN HER DOMESTIC RELATIONS: THE CHRISTIAN WIFE.—V. THE CHRISTIAN MAIDEN.—VI. THE CHRISTIAN MOTHER.—VII. THE CHRISTIAN SERVANT.—VIII. CONCLUSION. By the **Rev. JOHN JESSOPP, M.A.,** Chaplain to the King of the Belgians; Morning Preacher at the Female Orphan Asylum. Second Edition. Fcap. 8vo., in elegant binding, *3s. 6d.*

PROTESTANT LECTURES ON THE ERRORS & ABUSES OF ROMANISM. By eminent London Clergymen. 8vo., *3s. 6d.*

THE MODERATION OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND. By **T. PULLER, D.D.,** with Archbishop Sancroft's sanction, 1679. A new Edition, revised by Canon Eden. This book is an authorized exponent of all the Doctrines, Rites, Ceremonies, and Usages of the English Church. 8vo., in beautiful antique binding, *10s. 6d.*

FRIENDSHIP: WHAT IT IS—WHAT IT IS NOT. By the Rev. GEORGE GREIG, M.A., 6*d.*

PIETAS COMPENDIOSA: Short Family Prayers. Second Edition. 8vo., 1*s.*

SERMONS on CHRISTIAN EXPERIENCE. 12mo., 6*s.*

SERMONS on ZACCHEUS. 12mo., 3*s.* 6*d.*

FAMILY PRAYERS. 12mo., 2*s.* 6*d.*

By the Rev. F. G. CROSSMAN, M.A., late Chaplain to the Dowager Duchess of Beaufort.

SCRIPTURE CARDS; for the Sunday Evening Instruction and Amusement of Children from seven to thirteen years old. By a Mother. In a packet, 1*s.*

A MANUAL OF THE CHIEF TRUTHS OF RELIGION, in Questions and Answers. By the Rev. W. EDWARDS, M.A. 1*s.*

THE LORD'S PRAYER EXPLAINED. By the Rev. T. J. ROWSELL, M.A., Chaplain to the Duchess of Sutherland. 12mo., 2*s.* 6*d.*

LESSONS in GREEK ELLIPSIS. 12mo., 2/6.

The METRES of HORACE, on a Card. 6*d.*

The GREEK METRES, on a Card. 6*d.*

By J. T. BLACK, Esq.

RECORD OF STUDIES & CONDUCT, for Ladies' Schools, 1*s.*

MORMONISM: Its History, Doctrines, and Practices. By the Rev. W. SPARROW SIMPSON, M.A. Stitched, 5*d.*, or in cloth, 1*s.*

FATHER GAVAZZI'S CELEBRATED ORATION. 6*d.*

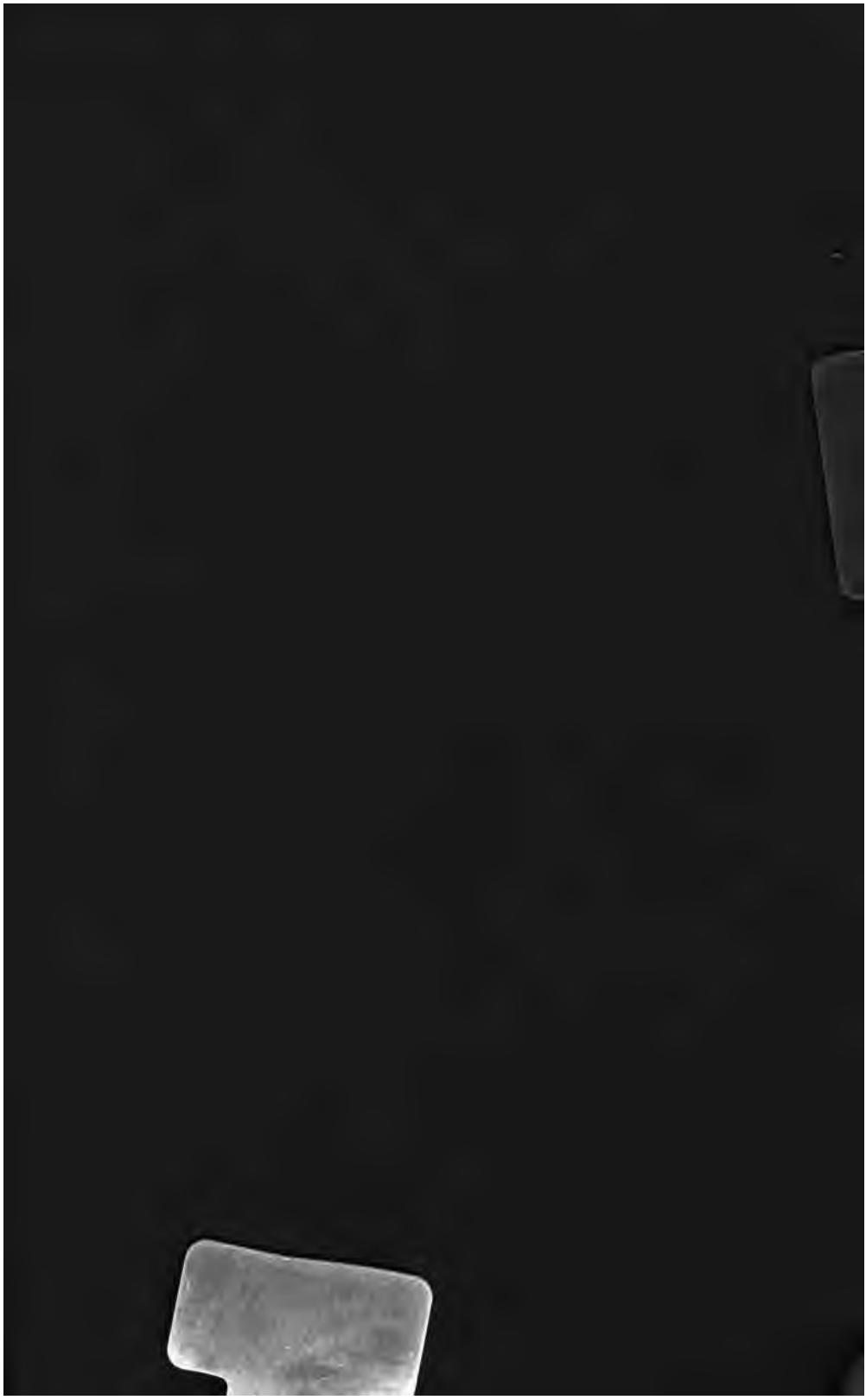
CHEERING WORDS FOR THE CHRISTIAN WAYFARER. 8vo. cloth, 1*s.* 6*d.*

HOME-BROUGHT TRUTHS FROM THE HOLY SANCTUARY. 8vo. cloth, 2*s.*

SINS OF THE TONGUE: Lying and other Fraud. A Sermon. 8vo., 6*d.*

VOICES OF THE BATTLE-FIELD. Fifth thousand. By the Rev. ALFRED CAY. Stitched, 3*d.*, or in red covers, 4*d.*

A PORTRAIT of the REV. J. McCONNEL HUSSEY, M.A. Proof, 7*s.* 6*d.*

A. M. PIGOTT,

KENNINGTON PARK CORNER, & 13, PATERNOSTER ROW.